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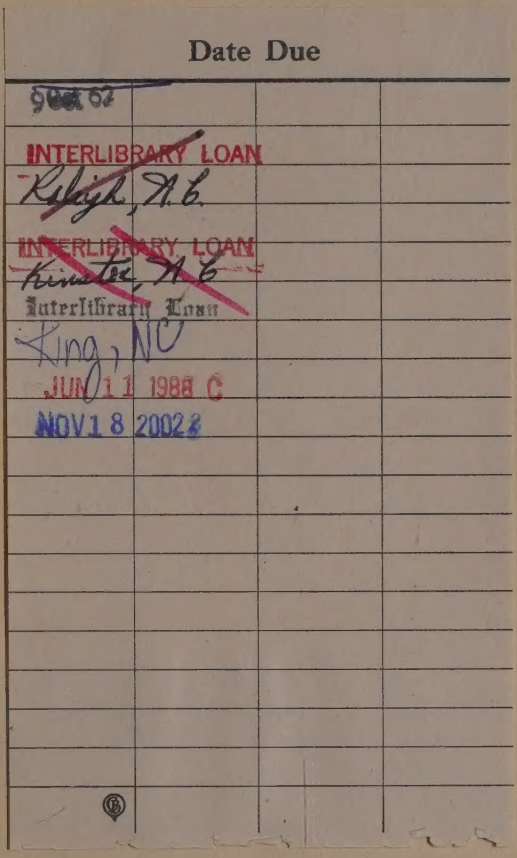
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THE

True Travels, &c.

OF

Capt. JOHN SMITH.

These are the Lines that ſhew thy Face; but thoſe
That ſhew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:
Thy Faire-Diſcoueries and Fowle-Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civillized by thee
Beſt ſhew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wyn:
So, thou art Braſſe without, but Golde within.

THE

TRUE TRAVELS,

ADVENTURES,

& OBSERVATIONS

OF

Captaine JOHN SMITH

Faithfully Reprinted from the Original Edition:
with an Introduction by John Gould Fletcher &
a Bibliographical Note by Lawrence C. Wroth

New York: RIMINGTON & HOOPER, *Publishers*

1930

1930

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INTRODUCTION

I

"THE TRUE TRAVELS, ADVENTURES AND OBSERVATIONS OF CAPTAINE JOHN SMITH" to give this work its full-sounding Elizabethan title, may be divided into two parts. The first part, dealing with Smith's adventures from 1596 to 1604, between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four, comprises the first twenty chapters of the narrative. The second part, comprising the last eight chapters, treats in very summary fashion of the progress of colonization in Virginia, the Bermudas, New England, Guiana, the West Indies, and Barbados, during the five years that had elapsed since Smith wrote his "Generall History of Virginia"; and concludes with a brief chapter describing the rise of piracy, which was becoming a thorny problem at the time. This last part is therefore little more than an all-around advertisement, compiled by Smith himself, of his capacities and attainments as a leader of colonial enterprise; it does not essentially differ in tone from such previous pamphlets as "New England's Trials", or such a later one as "Advertisements for the Inexperienced; or the Pathway to Erect a Plantation". All three were equally written with a memory of the disastrous failure of Smith's last voyage to the New England Coast in 1616 fresh in mind; and were composed and circulated by him largely in order to mitigate the bad impression which that disaster had left on the minds of his contemporaries, and to obtain fresh employment in some of the great colonial fleets which, at this time, were setting forth from England for the American coast.

The first part of the "True Travels" is, on the other hand, something different and far more important for our knowledge of the

man who was, at one and the same time, the last of the great Elizabethan adventurers of the Drake, Hawkins and Raleigh type, and the first of the seventeenth century colony builders that succeeded them. It is the only account we possess of Smith's early years.

It first appeared in 1625, in the third edition of the Reverend Samuel Purchas' "Pilgrims", in substantially the same form as here reprinted; and was stated by Purchas, and later by Smith himself, to be an extract from a book entitled "The Wars of Hungary, Wallachia and Moldavia", written by one Francisco Ferneza (presumably Farnese) secretary to that Prince Sigismund Bathory who figures so largely in its pages. Unfortunately, despite the efforts of scholars, this book has never been traced. We have either to assume then that no single copy of the volume has come down to us; or that the alleged book was never actually published, but came into Purchas' hands as a manuscript; and that Purchas himself destroyed it. The latter supposition is the more probable, as Purchas is known to have made unscrupulous use of other manuscript material. It must not be supposed that the seventeenth century placed very much stress upon exact documentation and scholarly thoroughness. It was the common usage in those days, when printed books were far more scarce than now, and much work circulated in manuscript, to lay more weight on the sense of a passage, than on the exact text; and Purchas, in giving us what purports to be an abstract from Farnese's lost history, and destroying the original, acted in the same spirit as did the editors of the Shakespeare First Folio, who, after assuring the reader that they had "scarce found a blot in the papers" that Shakespeare left them, presumably destroyed the documents so that the reader might not be able afterwards to correct them.

There is, however, another peculiarity about Farnese's account that makes us suspect that Purchas was not solely responsible for its disappearance. Whoever wrote the first part of the "True Travels" must have had intimate first-hand knowledge of Smith's own life. It is incredible to suppose that the learned author of an Italian

book entitled "The Wars of Hungary, Wallachia, and Moldavia" should have known a mere insignificant English captain in the Emperor's service (which must have attracted hundreds of soldiers of fortune of similar stamp) sufficiently well to set down that he was born in the insignificant village of Willoughby and served as apprentice to one Master Thomas Sendall—not to mention other details concerning Smith's early career, herein narrated. For these particulars Smith must have been solely responsible; and though he may have been indebted to a lost Italian book, or manuscript, for a few paragraphs of the "True History", there can be little doubt that for the bulk of the book, he and he alone is responsible.

II

What, then, are we to make of Captain John Smith himself? On our answer to this question depends whatever estimate we are able to make not only of the value of the "True History" itself, but of Smith's own account of his later adventures in Virginia.

We know, not only from his own account, but from the details of his father's will, still preserved, that he was the son of a tenant farmer on the estate of Lord Willoughby in Lincolnshire. He was therefore the descendant of that feudal yeomanry which then, as later, formed the backbone of the English middle-class. As such, he was only moderately well-to-do; his father, in his will, bequeaths some twenty-two pounds ready money to his relatives, as well as lands and personal furniture; but it must be remembered that the purchasing power of money in those days was ten or twelve times as great as in our days. So we may take it that young John was moderately well off. Of education, however, he had little, as we measure such things nowadays. The ordinary grammar schools which John Smith, like his contemporary William Shakespeare, is supposed to have attended, taught little then but elementary arithmetic, grammar and parsing, the catechism and possibly a little French and Latin thrown in as a make-

weight. To go higher meant hiring a tutor and attending a university; an opportunity beyond the reach of the pocketbooks of such people as John Smith. That Smith showed any particular aptitude for scholarship we may well doubt; inasmuch as we have his own word for it that at sixteen, he ran away from home and adopted the trade of a soldier of fortune.

That trade was to lead him to remote corners of the earth and finally across the seas to Virginia and New England. The first stage of this adventurous Odyssey is set down here in the pages that follow; and what it is, is essentially Smith's own account of eight years' battling in the school of experience; a hard school doubtless, but one in which our hero acquired much that he was later to put to good account in the American wilderness.

That this account is substantially Smith's own, must also be conceded if we examine the style in which it is written. It is obvious that the later governor of Virginia and Admiral of New England, though he was able to write, never completely mastered the ease of expression that is the mark of the born writer. His literary style is, at best, the brief campaign-notes of a blunt soldier, to whom the sword is more familiar than the pen; he is frequently betrayed into an awkward phrase or into some remark that contradicts the preceding, and his general spelling and geographical accuracy remain hazy and indefinite to the last. It is only in the later pages of his career as author, written under the spell of enforced leisure, that he ascends at times to a kind of rude eloquence that is not without its charm; and there are not many of these pages in the "True History", which is essentially a skeleton abstract, provided for the industrious but uninspired pages of Purchas' compilation. We have therefore to assume that Smith, here as elsewhere, writes from the point of view of a common soldier; a soldier who, thanks to an insatiable taste for adventure, had ventured a little more, faced danger and death more frequently, gone into very remote countries, and acquired far more knowledge than most of his contemporaries could boast of. But above

all, a soldier without that imagination that is more frequently a quality of cowardice than of bravery. We may take it that Smith actually experienced all that he said he did; the only question is whether he experienced it in exactly the same form as he later set down. People of his type and training do not invent adventures for the mere sake of telling them; at the most they modify or suppress some part of what has been a true experience.

Let us take, for example, the story of the three Turkish champions, whom Smith tells us that he overcame in single combat on the plains of Regall, in the seventh chapter of this narrative. In those days of professional armies, and of the rapid development of firearms and artillery, such an episode seems frankly impossible. Its proper date is at least three centuries earlier in the heyday of feudal chivalry. But there is reason nevertheless for supposing something of the sort may have actually occurred In the first place the spot where this incident happened was on the remote eastern frontier of Europe, where the ideals of chivalry lasted longest and died hardest, in the persons of the Polish nobility, as anyone reading the history of Poland can prove. In the second, this very exploit, with all its wild improbability, is backed by a piece of confirmatory evidence, in the shape of a grant of arms made by a known historical character to the man who performed it. In the third, we know that this patent of foreign nobility conferred on the young and obscure English captain, was of sufficient weight in the eyes of his contemporaries to induce them to appoint him to a position of authority, as a member of the first council that was to govern the colony of Virginia. So we may take the Regall adventure as substantially proven; however much we may cavil at some of its details.

So it is with the rest of Smith's story, here reprinted. The question is not whether he has invented episodes that are fictitious; but whether he has remembered the true episodes with sufficient clearness to entitle his work to rank as sober history. In some respects, in regard to the numerous names of places he mentions as

having visited, and the names of people he speaks of as having seen, modern scholars have been able to check his statements; in others, they are still unable to do so, though later some additional light may be shed here and there on an obscure name or reference; in still others the mystery of Captain Smith's movements during eight years of his eventful life will never be completely solved. That is because Smith himself, in writing this account, depended too far on an overburdened and an unrefreshed memory.

III

Suppose, reader, that you had taken part between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-two in a series of wars conducted in a remote foreign country, with the geography of which you were utterly unfamiliar, and that you had risen from the position of a private soldier to the rank of a captain in an army commanded by men speaking a foreign language with which you were equally unfamiliar, only to be taken captive and transported into still another country speaking still another language, and practising a different religion altogether. Suppose that somehow you escaped from that captivity, and came home, only to embark two years later at the age of twenty-six in an expedition to an unexplored and unknown region: say the North Pole, or the headwaters of the Amazon, or the Gobi Desert. Suppose, further, that you came home again at thirty, and then busied yourself not with writing your early life, but with fresh adventures, leading ultimately to shipwreck and another escape from captivity at thirty-six? Suppose finally that at forty-five when you were already prematurely soured and poor and as good as forgotten, someone asked you to sit down and write out what you recalled of your life before its twenty-sixth year? How much of it would you remember?

This is precisely the situation in Smith's case. That he invented in consequence certain details need not be doubted. That these inventions—such as the names of the Turkish champions above

mentioned, or even possibly the name of the great Turkish lady who befriended him in captivity—do not detract from the value of his narrative as narrative, or its essential credibility, is as clear as noonday. What we have here is a true story over which the light of an ageing and prematurely worn man's memory fitfully plays. Now it enhances this bit of detail, and now it passes over much that a latter age might treasure. The result is something unique in English literature; something that combines in a single work the soldier's bluff frankness with the imaginative charm of Robinson Crusoe.

JOHN GOULD FLETCHER

London,
January, 1929

THE TRUE TRAVELS, ADVENTURES, &c. OF CAPTAINE *JOHN SMITH*, IN EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICKE, & AMERICA

Facsimile (*actual size*) of the Title leaf, of
the original edition of *The True Travels*, &c.
in The John Carter Brown Library.

THE TRUE TRAVELS, ADVENTVRES, AND OBSERVATIONS OF

Captaine IOHN SMITH,

In *Europe*, *Asia*, *Affrica*, and *America*, from *Anno Domini* 1593. to 1629.

His Accidents and Sea-fights in the Straights; his Service and Stratagems of warre in *Hungaria*, *Transilvania*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, against the *Turks*, and *Tartars*; his three single combats betwixt the *Christian* Armie and the *Turkes*.

After how he was taken prisoner by the *Turks*, sold for a Slave, sent into *Tartaria*; his description of the *Tartars*, their strange manners and customes of Religions, Diets, Buildings, Warres, Feasts, Ceremonies, and Living; how hee slew the Bashaw of *Nalbritz* in *Cambia*, and escaped from the *Turkes* and *Tartars*.

Together with a continuation of his generall History of *Virginia*, *Summer-Iles*, *New England*, and their proceedings, since 1624. to this present 1629; as also of the new Plantations of the great River of the *Amazons*, the Iles of S^t. *Christopher*, *Meavis*, and *Barbados* in the *West Indies*.

All written by actuall Authours, whose names you shall finde along the History.

LONDON,

Printed by *I. H.* for *Thomas Slater*, and are to bee sold at the Blew Bible in *Greene Arbour*. 1630.

Vincere est Viuere
Accordamus
Frcill Jcul

To the Right Honourable,

William

EARLE OF *PEMBROKE,*

Lord Steward of his Majesties most honourable Houshold.

Robert

EARLE OF *LINDSEY,*

Great Chamberlaine of ENGLAND.

Henrie

Lord *Hunsdon*, Vicount *Rochford*,
Earle of *Dover.*

And all your Honourable Friends
and Well-willers.

My Lords:

SIR *Robert Cotton*, that most learned Treasurer of Antiquitie, having by perusall of my Generall Historie, and others, found that I had likewise undergone divers other as hard hazards in the other parts of the world, requested me to fix the whole course of my passages in a booke by it selfe, whose noble desire I could not but in part satisfie; the rather, because they have acted my fatall Tragedies upon the Stage, and racked my Relations

Relations at their pleasure. To prevent therefore all future misprisions, I have compiled this true discourse. Envie hath taxed me to have writ too much, and done too little; but that such should know, how little I esteeme them, I have writ this, more for the satisfaction of my friends, and all generous and well disposed Readers: To speake only of my selfe were intolerable ingratitude; because, having had so many co-partners with me; I cannot make a Monument for my selfe, and leave them unburied in the fields, whose lives begot me the title of a Souldier; for as they were companions with me in my dangers, so shall they be partakers with me in this Tombe.

For my *Sea Grammar* (caused to bee printed by my worthy friend, Sir *Samuel Saltonstall*) hath found such good entertainment abroad, that I have beene importuned by many noble persons, to let this also passe the Presse. Many of the most eminent Warriers, and others, what their swords did, their penns writ: Though I bee never so much their inferiour, yet I hold it no great errour, to follow good examples; nor repine at them, will doe the like.

And now my most Honourable good Lords, I know not to whom I may better present it, than to your Lordships, whose friendships, as I conceive, are as much to each others, as my duty is to you all; and because you are acquainted both with my endevours, and writings, I doubt not, but your honours will as well accept of this, as of the rest, and Patronize it under the shadow of your most noble vertues, which I am ever bound in all duty to reverence, and under which I hope to have shelter, against all stormes that dare threaten.

Your Honours to be commanded,

JOHN SMITH.

The

The Contents of the severall Chapters

CHapter i. His birth; apprentiship; going into *France*; his beginning with ten shillings and three pence, his service in *Netherlands*; his bad passage into *Scotland*; his returne to *Willoughby*; and how he lived in the woods. — Page 1.

Chapter ii. The notable villany of foure *French* Gallants, and his revenge; *Smith* throwne over-board, Captaine *La Roche* of Saint *Malo* releeves him. Page 3.

Chapter iii. A desperate Sea-fight in the Straights; his passage to *Rome, Naples,* and the view of *Italy.* Page 5.

Chapter iv. The Siege of *Olumpagh*; an excellent stratagem by *Smith*; another not much worse. Page 7.

Chapter v. The siege of *Stowlle-Wesenburg*; the effects of *Smiths* Fire-workes; a worthy exploit of the Earle *Rosworme*; Earle *Meldritch* takes the *Bashaw* prisoner. Page 9.

Chapter vi. A brave encounter of the *Turks* armie with the *Christians*; Duke *Mercury* overthroweth *Assan Bashaw*; He divides the *Christian* armie; his noblenesse and death. Page 11

Chapter vii. The unhappy siege of *Caniza*; Earle *Meldritch* serveth Prince *Sigismundus*; Prince *Moyses* besiegeth *Regall*; *Smiths* three single combats. Page 13.

Chapter viii. *Georgio Busca* an *Albane* his ingratitude to Prince *Sigismundus*; Prince *Moyses* his Lieutenant, is overthrowne by *Busca,* Generall for the Emperour *Rodulphus*; *Smiths* Patent from *Sigismundus,* and reward. Page 16.

Chapter ix. *Sigismundus* sends Ambassadours unto the Emperour; the conditions re-assured; he yeeldeth up all to *Busca,* and returneth to *Prague.* Page 20.

Chapter x. The Battell of *Rottenton*; a pretty stratagem of fire-workes by *Smith.* Page 22.

Chapter xi. The names of the *English* that were slaine in the battle of *Rottenton*; and how Captaine *Smith* was taken prisoner; and sold for a slave. Page 24.

Chapter xii. How Captaine *Smith* was sent prisoner thorow the *Blacke* and *Dissabacca* Sea in *Tartaria*; the description of those Seas, and his usage. Page 26

Chapter

The Contents

Chapter xiii. The *Turks* diet; the Slaves diet; the attire of the *Tartars*; and manner of Warres and Religions, *&c.* Page 28.

Chapter xiv. The description of the *Crym-Tartars*; their houses and carts; their idolatry in their lodgings. Page 29.

Chapter xv. Their feasts; common diet; Princes estate; buildings; lawes; slaves; entertainment of Ambassadours. Page 31.

Chapter xvi. How he levieth an Armie; their Armes and Provision; how he divideth the spoile; and his service to the *Great Turke.* Page 33.

Chapter xvii. How Captaine *Smith* escaped his captivity; slew the *Bashaw* of *Nalbrits* in *Cambia*; his passage to *Russia*, *Transilvania*, and the middest of *Europe* to *Affrica.* Page 36.

Chapter xviii. The observations of Captaine *Smith*; M^r *Henry Archer*, and others in *Barbary.* Page 39.

Chapter xix. The strange discoveries and observations of the *Portugals* in *Affrica.* Page 42.

Chapter xx. A brave Sea-fight betwixt two *Spanish* men of warre, and Captaine *Merham*, with *Smith.* Page 45.

Chapter xxi. The continuation of the generall History of *Virginia*; the *Summer Iles*; and *New England*; with their present estate from 1624. to this present 1629. Page 47.

Chapter xxii. The proceedings and present estate of the *Summer Iles*, from *An. Dom.* 1624. to this present 1629. Page 51.

Chapter xxiii. The proceedings and present estate of *New England*, since 1624. to this present 1629. Page 53.

Chapter xxiv. A brief discourse of divers voyages made unto the goodly Country of *Guiana*, and the great River of the *Amazons*; relating also the present Plantation there. Page 55.

Chapter xxv. The beginning and proceedings of the new plantation of *S^t. Christopher* by Captaine *Warner.* Page 59.

Chapter xxvi. The first planting of the *Barbados.* Page 63.

Chapter xxvii. The first plantation of the Ile of *Mevis.* Page 65.

Chapter xxviii. The bad life, qualities and conditions of Pyrats; and how they taught the *Turks* and *Moores* to become men of warre. Page 67.

TO

To my worthy friend, *Captaine* John Smith.

TWo greatest Shires of England *did thee beare,*
Renowned Yorkshire, *Gaunt-stild* Lancashire;
But what's all this? even Earth, Sea, Heaven above,
Tragabigzanda, Callamata's *love,*
Deare Pocahontas, *Madam* Shanoi's *too,*
Who did what love with modesty could doe:
Record thy worth, thy birth, which as I live,
Even in thy reading such choice solace give,
As I could wish (such wishes would doe well)
Many such Smiths *in this our* Israel.

R. Brathwait.

To my noble brother and friend, *Captaine* John Smith.

THou hast a course so full of honour runne,
Envy may snarle, as dogges against the Sunne
May barke, not bite: for what deservedly
With thy lifes danger, valour, pollicy,
Quaint warlike stratagems, abillity
And judgement, thou hast got, fame sets so high
Detraction cannot reach: thy worth shall stand
A patterne to succeeding ages, and
Cloth'd in thy owne lines, ever shall adde grace,
Unto thy native Country and thy race;
And when dissolv'd, laid in thy mothers wombe,
These, Cæsar-*like,* Smiths *Epitaph and tombe.*

Anthony Fereby.

To

To his valiant and deserving friend, *Captaine* John Smith.

MOngst Frenchmen, Spanyards,
Hungars, Tartars, Turks,
And wilde Virginians *too, this tells thy works:*
Now some will aske, what benefit? what gaine?
Is added to thy store for all this paine?
Th' art then content to say, content is all,
Th' ast got content for perils, paine and thrall;
Tis lost to looke for more: for few men now
Regard Wit, Learning, Valour; but allow
The quintessence of praise to him that can
Number his owne got gold, and riches, than
Th' art Valiant, Learned, Wise; Pauls *counsell will,*
Admire thy merits, magnifie thy skill.
The last of thine to which I set my hand
Was a Sea Grammar; *this by Sea and Land,*
Serves us for imitation: I know none,
That like thy selfe hast come, and runne, and gone,
To such praise-worthy actions: bee't approv'd,
Th' ast well deserv'd of best men to be lov'd:
If France, *or* Spaine, *or any forren soile*
Could claime thee theirs, for these thy paines and toile,
Th' adst got reward and honour: now adayes,
What our owne natives doe, we seldome praise.

Good men will yeeld thee praise; then sleight the rest;
Tis best praise-worthy to have pleas'd the best.

Tuissimus Ed. Jorden.

To

To my worthy friend, *Captaine* John Smith.

DEare noble Captaine, who by Sea and Land,
To act the earnest of thy name hast hand
And heart; who canst with skill designe the Fort,
The Leaguer, Harbour, City, Shore, and Port:
Whose sword and pen in bold, ruffe, Martiall wise,
Put forth to try and beare away the prize,
From Cæsar *and* Blaize Monluc: *Can it be,*
That Men alone in Gonnels *fortune see*
Thy worth advanc'd? no wonder since our age,
Is now at large a Bedlem or a Stage.

Rich. James.

To his worthy friend, *Captaine* John Smith.

THou that hast had a spirit to flie like thunder,
Without thy Countries charge
through those strange dangers,
Doth make my muse amaz'd, and more to wonder,
That thy deserts should shared be by strangers,
And thou neglected; (ah miracle!) most lamented,
At thy great patience thus to rest contented.

For none can truly say thou didst deceive,
Thy Souldiers, Sailers, Merchants, nor thy friends,
But all from thee a true account receive,
Yet nought to thee all these thy vertues brings;
Is none so noble to advance thy merit,
If any be, let him thy praise inherit.

Ma. Hawkins.

To

To my worthy friend, *Captaine* John Smith.

TO combate with three Turks in single du'le,
Before two Armies, who the like hath done?
Slaine thy great Jailor; found a common weale
In faire America *where; thou hast wonne*
No lesse renowne amongst their Savage Kings,
Than Turkish warres, that thus thy honour sings.

Could not those tyrants daunt thy matchlesse spirit,
Nor all the cruelty of envies spight:
Will not thy Country yet reward thy merit,
Nor in thy acts and writings take delight?
Which here in so few sheets doth more expresse
Than volumes great, this is thy happinesse.

Richard Meade.

To my well deserving friend, *Captaine* John Smith.

THou hast no need to covet new applause,
Nor doe I thinke vaine-glory moves thee to it;
But since it is thy will (though without cause)
To move a needlesse thing, yet will I doe it:
Doe it in briefe I will, or else I doe the wrong,
And say, read o'er Captaine Smiths *former song;*
His first then will invite thee to his latter:
Reader 'tis true; *I am not brib'd to flatter.*

Edw. Ingham.

To

To his approved friend, the Authour; *Captaine* John Smith.

THe old Greeke Beard, *counts him the onely man,*
Who knowes strange Countries, like his Ithacan,
And wise, as valiant, by his observation,
Can tell the severall customes of each Nation:
All these are met in thee, who will not then
Repute thee in the ranke of worthiest men?

To th' Westerne world to former times unknowne,
Thy active spirit hath thy valour showne:
The Turks *and* Tartars *both can testifie,*
Thee t' have deserv'd a Captaines dignity;
But verse, thou need'st not to expresse thy worth,
Thy acts, this booke doe plainly set it forth.

M. Cartner.

To the *Valourous* and truly-*vertuous* souldier, *Captaine* John Smith.

NO *Faith in Campe? *tis false*: *see pious* Smith
Hath brought stragling Astræa *backe, and with*
An all outdaring spirit made Valour *stand*
Upheld by Vertue *in bold* Mars *his land*:
If Valourous, *be praise; how great's his Name?*
Whose Valour *joynd with* Vertue *laud's his Fame.*
T'was Homers *boast of wise* Laertes *sonne,*

*Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur.

Well

* πολλῶν δ αἰθρ-
ώπων ἴδεν ἄζεα,
ϗ νδον ἔγνω.
Hom. Odyss. a.

*Well-read in men and Cities: *than thou none*
(*Great* Smith) *of these can more true tales rehearse*;
What want thy praises then, but Homers *verse?*

In Smithum Distichon

* Appius.

Quisque suæ sortis *Faber: an Faber exstitit unquam
Te (Smithe) fortunæ verior usque suæ?

I. C.
C. P.

To his noble friend, *Captaine* John Smith.

TO see bright honour sparkled all in gore,
Would steele a spirit that ne're fought before:
And that's the height of Fame, when our best bloud,
Is nobly spilt in actions great and good:
So thou hast taught the world to purchase Fame,
Rearing thy story on a glorious frame,
And such foundation doth thy merits make it,
As all detractions rage shall never shake it;
Thy actions crowne themselves, and thy owne pen,
Gives them the best and truest Epiphonem.

Brian ORourke.

To

To his truly deserving friend, *Captaine* John Smith.

CAn one please all? there's none from Censure *free,*
To looke for't then it were absurd in thee;
It's easie worke to censure sweetest Layes,
Where Ignorance *is* Judge *thou'd have no praise:*
Wisdome *I know will mildly judge of all,*
Envious hearts, tongues, pennes, are dippt in Gall.
Proud malignant times will you now bring forth
Monsters *at least to snarle at others worth;*
O doe not so, but wisely looke on him
That wrought such Honours *for his* Countries King:
Of Turks *and* Tartars *thou hast wonne the field,*
The great Bashaw *his* Courage *thou hast quel'd;*
In the Hungarian warre *thou'st shewd thy* Arts,
Prov'd thy Selfe *a* Souldier *true in all parts:*
Thy Armes *are deckt with that thy* Sword *hath wonne,*
Which mallice can't out-weare till day be done:
For three proud Turks *in single fight thou'st slue,*
Their Heads adorne *thy* Armes, *for witnesse true;*
Let Mars *and* Neptune *both with* Pregnant *wit.*
Extoll thy due deserts, Ile pray for it.

Salo. Tanner.

Facsimile (*actual size*) of the Folded Plate in
the original edition of *The True Travels*, &c.
in The John Carter Brown Library.

THE

TRUE TRAVELS,

ADVENTURES & OBSERVATIONS OF *CAPTAINE JOHN SMITH* IN *Europe, Asia, Africke, and America:* *beginning about the yeare* 1593, *and continued to this present* 1629.

Chapter i.

His Birth; *Apprentiship*; *Going into* France; *His beginning with ten shillings and three pence*; *His Service in* Netherlands; *His bad passage into* Scotland; *His returne to* Willoughby; *And how he lived in the Woods.*

HE was borne in *Willoughby* in *Lincolne-shire*, and a Scholler in the two Free-schooles of *Alford* and *Louth*. His father anciently descended from the ancient *Smiths* of *Crudley* in *Lancashire*; his mother from the *Rickands* at great *Heck* in *York-shire*. His parents dying when he was about thirteene yeeres of age, left him a competent meanes, which hee not being capable to manage, little regarded; his minde being even then set upon brave adventures, sould his Satchell, bookes, and all he had, intending secretly to get to Sea, but that his fathers death stayed him. But now the Guardians of his estate more regarding it than him, he had libertie enough, though no meanes, to get beyond the Sea. About the age of fifteene yeeres hee was bound an apprentice to M^r *Thomas Sendall* of *Linne*, the greatest Merchant of all

all those parts; but because hee would not presently send him to Sea, he never saw his master in eight yeeres after. At last he found meanes to attend M^r *Perigrine Barty* into *France*, second sonne to the Right Honourable *Peregrine*, that generous Lord *Willoughby*, and famous Souldier; where comming to his brother *Robert*, then at *Orleans*, now Earle of *Linsey*, and Lord great Chamberlaine of *England*; being then but little youths under Tutorage: his service being needlesse, within a moneth or six weekes they sent him backe againe to his friends; who when he came from *London* they liberally gave him (but out of his owne estate) ten shillings to be rid of him; such oft is the share of fatherlesse children: but those two Honourable Brethren gave him sufficient to returne for *England*. But it was the least thought of his determination, for now being freely at libertie in *Paris*, growing acquainted with one Master *David Hume*, who making some use of his purse, gave him Letters to his friends in *Scotland* to preferre him to King *James*. Arriving at *Roane*, he better bethinkes himselfe, seeing his money neere spent, downe the River he went to *Haver de grace*, where he first began to learne the life of a souldier: Peace being concluded in *France*, he went with Captaine *Joseph Duxbury* into the Low-countries, under whose Colours having served three or foure yeers, he tooke his journey for *Scotland*, to deliver his Letters. At *Ancusan* he imbarked himselfe for *Lethe*, but as much danger, as shipwracke and sicknesse could endure, hee had at the holy Ile in *Northumberland* neere *Barwicke*: (being recovered) into *Scotland* he went to deliver his Letters. After much kinde usage amongst those honest *Scots* at *Ripweth* and *Broxmoth*, but neither money nor meanes to make him a Courtier, he returned to *Willoughby* in *Lincoln-shire*; where within a short time being glutted with too much company, wherein he took small delight, he retired himselfe into a little wooddie pasture, a good way from any towne, invironed with many hundred Acres of other woods: Here by a faire brook he built a Pavillion of boughes, where only in his cloaths he lay. His studie was *Machiavills* Art of warre, and *Marcus Aurelius*; his exercise a good horse, with his lance and Ring; his food was thought to be more of venison than anything else; what he wanted his man brought him. The countrey wondering at such an Hermite; His friends perswaded one *Seignior Theadora Polaloga*, Rider to *Henry* Earle of *Lincolne*, an excellent Horse-man, and a noble *Italian* Gentleman, to insinuate into his wooddish acquaintances, whose Languages and good discourse, and exercise of riding drew him to stay with him at *Tattersall*. Long these pleasures could not content him, but hee returned againe to the Low-Countreyes.

Chapter ii.

The notable villany of foure French *Gallants, and his revenge*; Smith *throwne over-board*; *Captaine* La Roche *of Saint* Malo *releeves him.*

THus when *France* and *Netherlands* had taught him to ride a Horse and use his Armes, with such rudiments of warre, as his tender yeeres in those martiall Schooles could attaine unto; he was desirous to see more of the world, and trie his fortune against the *Turkes*, both lamenting and repenting to have seene so many *Christians* slaughter one another. Opportunitie casting him into the company of foure *French* Gallants well attended, faining to him the one to be a great Lord, the rest his Gentlemen, and that they were all devoted that way; over-perswaded him to goe with them into *France*, to the Dutchesse of *Mercury*, from whom they should not only have meanes but also Letters of favour to her noble Duke, then Generall for the Emperour *Rodolphus* in *Hungary*; which he did, with such ill weather as winter affordeth, in the darke night they arrived in the broad shallow In-let of Saint *Valleries sur Some* in *Picardie*; his *French* Lord knowing he had good apparell, and better furnished with money than themselves, so plotted with the Master of the ship to set his and their owne trunckes ashore leaving *Smith* aboard till the boat could returne, which was the next day after towards evening; the reason he alleaged was the sea went so high hee could come no sooner, and that his Lord was gone to *Amiens* where they would stay his comming; which treacherous villany, when divers other souldiers, and passengers understood, they had like to have slaine the Master, and had they knowne how, would have runne away with the ship.

A notable villany of foure *French* Gallants.

Comming on shore hee had but one *Carralue*, was forced to sell his cloake to pay for his passage. One of the souldiers, called *Curzianvere*, compassionating his injury, assured him this great Lord *Depreau* was only the sonne of a Lawyer of *Mortaigne* in base *Britany*, and his Attendants *Cursell*, *La Nelie*, and *Monferrat*, three young citizens, as arrant cheats as himselfe; but if he would accompany him, he would bring him to their friends, but in the *interim* supplied his wants: thus travelling by *Deepe*, *Codebeck*, *Humphla*, *Pount-demer* in *Normandie*, they came to *Cane* in base *Normandie*; where both this noble *Curzianvere*, and the great Prior of the great Abbey of *S. Steven* (where is the ruinous Tombe of *William* the Conquerour,) and many other of his friends kindly welcomed him, and brought him to *Mortaigne*, where hee found

A *Carralue* is in value a penny.

found *Depreau* and the rest, but to small purpose; for M^r *Curzianvere* was a banished man, and durst not be seene, but to his friends: yet the bruit of their cosenage occasioned the Lady *Collumber*, the Baron *Larshan*, the Lord *Shasghe*, and divers other honourable persons, to supply his wants, and with them to recreate himselfe so long as hee would: but such pleasant pleasures suited little with his poore estate, and his restlesse spirit, that could never finde content, to receive such noble favours, as he could neither deserve nor requite: but wandring from Port to Port to finde some man of war, spent that he had, and in a Forest, neere dead with griefe and cold, a rich Farmer found him by a faire Fountaine under a tree: This kinde Pesant releeved him againe to his content, to follow his intent. Not long after, as he passed thorow a great grove of trees, betweene *Pounterson* and *Dina* in *Britaine*, it was his chance to meet *Cursell*, more miserable than himselfe: His piercing injuries had so small patience, as without any word they both drew, and in a short time *Cursell* fell to the ground, where from an old ruinated Tower the inhabitants seeing them, were satisfied, when they heard *Cursell* confesse what had formerly passed; and that how in the dividing that they had stolne from him, they fell by the ears amongst themselves, that were actors in it; but for his part, he excused himselfe to be innocent as well of the one, as of the other. In regard of his hurt, *Smith* was glad to be so rid of him, directing his course to an honourable Lord, the Earle of *Ployer*, who during the warre in *France*, with his two brethren, Viscount *Poomory*, and Baron *d'Mercy*, who had beene brought up in *England*; by him he was better refurnished than ever. When they had shewed him Saint *Malo Mount*, Saint *Michael*, *Lambal*, *Simbreack*, *Lanion*, and their owne faire Castle of *Tuncadeck*, *Gingan*, and divers other places in *Britanny*, (and their *Brittish Cornwaile*) taking his leave, he tooke his way to *Raynes*, the *Britaines* chiefe Citie, and so to *Nantes*, *Poyters*, *Rochell*, and *Burdeaux*. The rumour of the strength of *Bayon* in *Biskay*, caused him to see it; and from thence tooke his way from *Leskar* in *Biearne*, & *Paw* in the kingdom of *Navar* to *Tolouza* in *Gascoigne*, *Bezers* and *Carcassone*, *Narbone*, *Montpellier*, *Nimes* in *Languedock*, and thorow the Country of *Avignion*, by *Arles* to *Marcellos* in *Province*, there imbarking himselfe for *Italy*, the ship was enforced to *Tolonne*, and putting againe to sea, ill weather so grew upon them, they anchored close aboard the shore, under the little Isle of *S. Mary*, against *Neice* in *Savoy*. Here the inhumane Provincialls, with a rabble of Pilgrimes of divers Nations going to *Rome*, hourely cursing him, not only for a *Hugonoit*, but his Nation they swore were all Pyrats, and so vildly railed on his dread Soveraigne Queene *Elizabeth*, and that they never should have faire weather so long as hee was aboard them; their disputations grew to that passion, that they threw him over-board, yet God brought him to that

Here he incountred one of the theeves.

The noblenesse of the Earle of *Ployer*.

An inhumane act of the Provincialls in casting him over-board.

that little Isle, where was no inhabitants, but a few kine and goats. The next morning he espied two ships more riding by them, put in by the storme, that fetched him aboard, well refreshed him, and so kindly used him, that he was well contented to trie the rest of his fortune with them. After he had related unto them his former discourse, what for pitie, and the love of the Honourable Earle of *Ployer*, this noble *Britaine* his neighbour, Captaine *la Roche* of Saint *Malo*, regarded and entertained him for his well respected friend. With the next faire wind they sailed along by the Coast of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, and crossing the gulfe of *Tunis*, passed by *Cape Bona* to the Isle of *Lampadosa*, leaving the coast of *Barbary* till they came at *Cape Rosata*, and so along the *African* shore, for *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*. There delivering their fraught, they went to *Scandaroone*; rather to view what ships was in the Roade, than any thing else: keeping their course by *Cypres* and the coast of *Asia*, sayling by *Rhodes*, the *Archipellagans*, *Candia*, and the coast of *Grecia*, and the Isle of *Zaffalonia*. They lay to and againe a few dayes betwixt the Isle of *Corfue* and the *Cape* of *Otranto* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, in the Entrance of the *Adriatike* sea.

Capt. *La Roche* releeves him.

Chapter iii.

A desperate Sea-fight in the Straights; *His passage to* Rome, Naples, *and the view of* Italy.

BEtwixt the two *Capes* they meet with an *Argosie* of *Venice*, it seemed the Captaine desired to speake with them, whose untoward answer was such, as slew them a man; whereupon the *Britaine* presently gave them the broad-side, then his Sterne, and his other broadside also, and continued the chase, with his chase peeces, till he gave them so many broad-sides one after another, that the *Argosies* sayles and tackling was so torne, she stood to her defence, and made shot for shot; twice in one houre and a halfe the *Britaine* boarded her, yet they cleared themselves, but clapping her aboard againe, the *Argosie* fired him, which with much danger to them both was presently quenched. This rather augmented the *Britaines* rage, than abated his courage; for having reaccommodated himselfe againe, shot her so oft betweene wind and water, shee was readie to sinke, then they yeelded; the *Britaine* lost fifteene men, she twentie, besides divers were hurt, the rest went to worke on all hands; some to stop the leakes, others to guard the prisoners that were chained, the rest to rifle her. The Silkes, Velvets, Cloth of gold, and Tissue, Pyasters, Chicqueenes

A desperate sea-fight.

Chicqueenes and Sultanies, which is gold and silver, they unloaded in foure and twentie houres, was wonderfull, whereof having sufficient, and tired with toile, they cast her off with her company, with as much good merchandize as would have fraughted such another *Britaine*, that was but two hundred Tunnes, she foure or five hundred.

To repaire his defects, hee stood for the coast of *Calabria*, but hearing there was six or seven Galleyes at *Mesina* hee departed thence for *Malta*, but the wind comming faire, he kept his course along the coast of the Kingdome of *Sicilia* by *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, till he came to the Road of *Antibo* in *Peamon*, where he set *Smith* on shore with five hundred chickqueenes, and a little box God sent him worth neere as much more. Here he left this noble *Britaine*, and embarked himselfe for *Lygorne*, being glad to have such opportunitie and meanes to better his experience by the view of *Italy*; and having passed *Tuskany*, and the Countrey of *Sieana*, where hee found his deare friends, the two Honourable Brethren, the Lord *Willoughby* and his Brother cruelly wounded, in a desperate fray, yet to their exceeding great honour. Then to *Viterbo* and many other Cities he came to *Rome*, where it was his chance to see Pope *Clement* the eight, with many Cardinalls, creepe up the holy Stayres, which they say are those our Saviour Christ went up to *Pontius Pilate*, where bloud falling from his head, being pricked with his crowne of thornes, the drops are marked with nailes of steele, upon them none dare goe but in that manner, saying so many *Ave-Maries* and *Pater-nosters*, as is their devoton, and to kisse the nailes of steele: But on each side is a paire of such like staires, up which you may goe, stand, or kneele, but divided from the holy Staires by two walls: right against them is a Chappell, where hangs a great silver Lampe, which burneth continually, yet they say the oyle neither increaseth nor diminisheth. A little distant is the ancient Church of Saint *John de Laterane*, where he saw him say Masse, which commonly he doth upon some Friday once a moneth. Having saluted Father *Parsons*, that famous *English* Jesuite, and satisfied himself with the rarities of *Rome*, he went downe the River of *Tiber* to *Civita Vechia*, where he embarked himselfe to satisfie his eye with the faire Citie of *Naples*, and her Kingdomes nobilitie; returning by *Capua*, *Rome* and *Seana*, he passed by that admired Citie of *Florence*, the Cities and Countries of *Bolonia*, *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, *Padua* and *Venice*, whose Gulfe he passed from *Malamoco* and the *Adriatike* Sea for *Ragouza*, spending some time to see that barren broken coast of *Albania* and *Dalmatia*, to *Capo de Istria*, travelling the maine of poore *Slavonia* by *Lubbiano*, till he came to *Grates* in *Steria*, the Seat of *Ferdinando* Arch-duke of *Austria*, now Emperour of *Almania*: where he met an *English* man, and an *Irish* Jesuite, who acquainted him with many brave Gentlemen of good qualitie, especially with the Lord

The Popes holy Staires brought from *Jerusalem*, whereon (they say) Christ went up to *Pontius Pilate*.

Ebersbaught

Ebersbaught, with whom trying such conclusions, as he projected to undertake, preferred him to Baron *Kisell*, Generall of the Artillery, and he to a worthy Collonell, the Earle of *Meldritch*, with whom going to *Vienne* in *Austria*, under whose Regiment, in what service, and how he spent his time, this ensuing Discourse will declare.

Chapter iv.

The siege of Olumpagh; *An excellent Stratagem by* Smith; *Another not much worse.*

The siege of *Olumpagh*

AFter the losse of *Caniza*, the *Turkes* with twentie thousand besieged the strong Towne of *Olumpagh* so straightly, as they were cut off from all intelligence and hope of succour; till *John Smith*, this *English* Gentleman, acquainted Baron *Kisell*, Generall of the Arch-dukes Artillery, he had taught the Governour, his worthy friend, such a Rule, that he would undertake to make him know any thing he intended, and have his answer, would they bring him but to some place where he might make the flame of a Torch seene to the Towne; *Kisell* inflamed with this strange invention; *Smith* made it so plain, that forthwith hee gave him guides, who in the darke night brought him to a mountaine, where he shewed three Torches equidistant from other, which plainly appearing to the Towne, the Governour presently apprehended, and answered againe with three other fires in like manner; each knowing the others being and intent; *Smith*, though distant seven miles, signified to him these words: On Thursday at night I will charge on the East, at the Allarum, salley you; *Ebersbaught* answered he would, and thus it was done: First he writ his message as briefe, you see, as could be, then divided the Alphabet in two parts thus;

A.	*b.*	*c.*	*d.*	*e.*	*f.*	*g.*	*h.*	*i.*	*k.*	*l.*
1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.

m.	*n.*	*o.*	*p.*	*q.*	*r.*	*s.*	*t.*	*v.*	*w.*	*x.*	*y.*	*z.*
2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.

An excellent Stratagem

The first part from *A.* to *L.* is signified by shewing and hiding one linke, so oft as there is letters from *A.* to that letter you meane; the other part from *M.* to *Z.* is mentioned by two lights in like manner.

The

The end of a word is signified by shewing of three lights, ever staying your light at that letter you meane, till the other may write it in a paper, and answer by his signall, which is one light, it is done, beginning to count the letters by the lights, every time from *A.* to *M.* by this meanes also the other returned his answer, whereby each did understand other. The Guides all this time having well viewed the Campe, returned to *Kisell*, who, doubting of his power being but ten thousand, was animated by the Guides, how the *Turkes* were so divided by the River in two parts, they could not easily second each other. To which *Smith* added this conclusion; that two or three thousand pieces of match fastened to divers small lines of an hundred fathome in length being armed with powder, might all be fired and stretched at an instant before the Alarum, upon the Plaine of *Hysnaburg*, supported by two staves, at each lines end, in that manner would seeme like so many Musketteers; which was put in practice; and being discovered by the *Turkes*, they prepared to encounter these false fires, thinking there had beene some great Armie; whilest *Kisell* with his ten thousand being entred the *Turks* quarter, who ranne up and downe as men amazed. It was not long ere *Ebersbaught* was pell-mell with them in their Trenches; in which distracted confusion, a third part of the *Turkes*, that besieged that side towards *Knousbruck*, were slaine; many of the rest drowned, but all fled. The other part of the Armie was so busied to resist the false fires, that *Kisell* before the morning put two thousand good souldiers in the Towne, and with small loss was retired; the Garrison was well releeved with that they found in the *Turkes* quarter, which caused the *Turkes* to raise their siege and returne to *Caniza*: and *Kisell* with much honour was received at *Kerment*, and occasioned the Author a good reward and preferment, to be Captaine of two hundred and fiftie Horse-men, under the Conduct of Colonell *Voldo*, Earle of *Meldritch*.

Another Stratagem.

Chapter v.

The siege of Stowlle-wesenburg; *The effects of* Smiths *Fireworkes*; *A worthy exploit of Earle* Rosworme; *Earle* Meldritch *takes the* Bashaw *prisoner.*

A Generall rumour of a generall peace, now spred it selfe over all the face of those tormented Countries: but the *Turke* intended no such matter, but levied souldiers from all parts he could. The Emperour also, by the assistance of the *Christian* Princes, provided three Armies, the one led by the Arch-duke *Mathias*, the Emperours brother, and his Lieutenant Duke *Mercury* to defend Low *Hungary*, the second, by *Ferdinando* the Arch-duke of *Steria*, and the Duke of *Mantua* his Lieutenant to regaine *Caniza*; the third by *Gonzago*, Governour of High *Hungary*, to joyne with *Georgio Busca*, to make an absolute conquest of *Transilvania*.

The siege of *Alba Regalis.*

Duke *Mercury* with an Armie of thirtie thousand, whereof neere ten thousand were *French*, besieged *Stowlle-wesenburg*, otherwise called *Alba Regalis*, a place so strong by Art and Nature, that it was thought impregnable. At his first comming, the *Turkes* sallied upon the *Germane* quarter, slew neere five hundred, and returned before they were thought on. The next night in like manner they did neere as much to the *Bemers*, and *Hungarians*; of which fortune still presuming, thinking to have found the *French* quarter as carelesse, eight or nine hundred of them were cut in pieces and taken prisoners. In this encounter Mousieur *Grandvile*, a brave *French* Colonell, received seven or eight cruell wounds, yet followed the Enemie to the Ports; he came off alive, but within three or foure days died.

The effect of good fire-works.

Earle *Meldritch*, by the information of three or foure *Christians*, (escaped out of the Towne) upon every Alarum, where there was greatest assemblies and throng of people, caused Captaine *Smith* to put in practice his fiery Dragons, hee had demonstrated unto him, and the Earle *Von Sulch* at *Comora*, which hee thus performed: Having prepared fortie or fiftie round-bellied earthen pots, and filled them with hand Gunpowder, then covered them with Pitch, mingled with Brimstone and Turpentine; and quartering as many Musket-bullets, that hung together but only at the Center of the division, stucke them round in the mixture about the pots, and covered them againe with the same mixture, over that a strong Searcloth, then over all a good thicknesse of Towze-match well tempered with oyle of Lin-seed, Campheer, and powder of Brimstone, these he fitly placed in Slings, graduated

graduated so neere as they could to the places of these Assemblies. At midnight upon the Alarum, it was a fearful sight to see the short flaming course of their flight in the aire, but presently after their fall, the lamentable noise of the miserable slaughtered *Turkes* was most wonderfull to heare: Besides, they had fired that Suburbe at the Port of *Buda* in two or three places, which so troubled the *Turkes* to quench, that had there beene any means to have assaulted them, they could hardly have resisted the fire, and their enemies. The Earle *Rosworme*, contrary to the opinion of all men, would needs undertake to finde meanes to surprise the Segeth and Suburbe of the Citie, strongly defended by a muddie Lake, which was thought unpassable.

A worthy exploit of Earle *Rosworme*.

The Duke having planted his Ordnance, battered the other side, whilest *Rosworme*, in the darke night, with every man a bundle of sedge and bavins still throwne before them, so laded up the Lake, as they surprized that unregarded Suburbe before they were discovered: upon which unexpected Alarum, the *Turkes* fled into the Citie, and the other Suburbe not knowing the matter, got into the Citie also, leaving their Suburbe for the Duke, who, with no great resistance, tooke it, with many peeces of Ordnance; the Citie, being of no such strength as the Suburbs, with their owne Ordnance was so battered, that it was taken perforce, with such a mercilesse execution, as was most pitifull to behold. The *Bashaw* notwithstanding drew together a partie of five hundred before his owne Pallace, where he intended to die; but seeing most of his men slaine before him, by the valiant Captaine Earle *Meldritch*, who tooke him prisoner with his own hands; and with the hazard of himselfe saved him from the fury of other troopes, that did pull downe his Pallace, and would have rent him in peeces, had he not beene thus preserved. The Duke thought his victory much honoured with such a Prisoner; tooke order hee should bee used like a Prince, and with all expedition gave charge presently to repaire the breaches, and the ruines of this famous Citie, that had beene in the possession of the *Turkes* neere threescore yeares.

Earle *Meldritch* takes the *Bashaw* prisoner.

Chapter vi.

A brave encounter of the Turkes *Armie with the* Christians; *Duke* Mercury *overthroweth* Assan Bashaw; *Hee devides the* Christian *Armie*; *His noblenesse and death.*

Mahomet, the great *Turke*, during the siege, had raised an Armie of sixtie thousand men to have releeved it; but hearing it was lost, he sent *Assan Bashaw* Generall of his Armie, the *Bashaw* of *Buda*, *Bashaw Amaroz*, to see if it were possible to regaine it; The Duke understanding there could be no great experience in such a new levied Armie as *Assan* had; having put a strong Garrison into it: and with the brave Colonell *Rosworme*, *Culnits*, *Meldritch*, the *Rhine-Grave*, *Vahan* and many others; with twenty-thousand good souldiers, set forward to meet the*Turke* in the Plaines of *Girke*. Those two Armies encountered as they marched, where began a hot and bloudy Skirmish betwixt them, Regiment against Regiment, as they came in order, till the night parted them: Here Earle *Meldritch* was so invironed amongst those halfe circular Regiments of *Turkes*, they supposed him their Prisoner, and his Regiment lost, but his two most couragious friends, *Vahan* and *Culnits*, made such a passage amongst them, that it was a terror to see how horse and man lay sprawling and tumbling, some one way, some another on the ground. The Earle there at that time made his valour shine more bright than his armour which seemed then painted with *Turkish* bloud, he slew the brave *Zanzack Bugola*, and made his passage to his friends, but neere halfe his Regiment was slaine. Captaine *Smith* had his horse slaine under him, and himselfe sore wounded; but he was not long unmounted, for there was choice enough of horses, that wanted masters. The *Turke* thinking the victory sure against the Duke, whose Armie, by the Siege and the Garrison, he had left behind him, was much weakened, would not be content with one, but he would have all; and lest the Duke should returne to *Alba Regalis*, he sent that night twenty thousand to besiege the Citie, assuring them he would keepe the Duke or any other from releeving them. Two or three days they lay each by other, entrenching themselves; the *Turkes* daring the Duke daily to a sett battell, who at length drew out his army, led by the *Rhine-Grave*, *Culnits*, and *Meldritch*, who upon their first encounter, charged with that resolute and valiant courage, as disordered not only the foremost squadrons of the *Turkes*, but enforced all the whole Armie to retire to the Campe, with the loss of five or six thousand, with

A brave encounter of the *Turkes* Armie with the *Christians*.

Duke *Mercury* overthroweth *Assan Bassa*.

with the *Bashaw* of *Buda*, and foure or five *Zanzacks*, with divers other great Commanders, two hundred Prisoners, and nine peeces of Ordnance. At that instant appeared, as it were, another Armie comming out of a valley over a plaine hill, that caused the Duke at that time to be contented, and to retire to his Trenches; which gave time to *Assan* to reorder his disordered squadrons: Here they lay nine or ten dayes, and more supplies repaired to them, expecting to try the event in a sett battell; but the souldiers on both parties, by reason of their great wants and approach of winter, grew so discontented, that they were ready of themselves to breake up the Leager; the *Bashaw* retiring himselfe to *Buda*, had some of the Reare Troopes cut off. *Amaroz Bashaw* hearing of this, found such bad welcome at *Alba Regalis*, and the Towne so strongly repaired, with so brave a Garrison, raised his siege, and retired to *Zigetum*.

Duke *Mercury* divideth his Armie.

The Duke understanding that the Arch-duke *Ferdinando* had so resolutely besieged *Caniza*, as what by the losse of *Alba Regalis*, and the *Turks* retreat to *Buda*, being void of hope of any reliefe, doubted not but it would become againe the *Christians*. To the furtherance whereof, the Duke divided his Armie into three parts. The Earle of *Rosworme* went with seven thousand to *Caniza*; the Earle of *Meldritch* with six thousand he sent to assist *Georgio Busca* against the *Transilvanians*, the rest went with himselfe to the Garrisons of *Strigonium* and *Komara*; having thus worthily behaved himselfe, he arrived at *Vienne*, where the Arch-dukes and the Nobilitie with as much honour received him, as if he had conquered all *Hungaria*; his very Picture they esteemed would make them fortunate, which thousands kept as curiously as a precious relique. To requite this honour, preparing himselfe to returne into *France*, to raise new Forces against the next yeare, with the two Arch-dukes, *Mathias* and *Maximilian*, and divers others of the Nobilitie, was with great magnificence conducted to *Nurenburg*, there by them royally feasted, (how it chanced is not knowne;) but the next morning he was found dead, and his brother in law died two dayes after; whose hearts, after this great triumph, with much sorrow were carried into *France*.

Duke *Mercury* and his brother in law die suddenly.

Chapter vii.

The unhappie Siege of Caniza; *Earle* Meldritch *serveth Prince* Sigismundus; *Prince* Moyses *besiegeth* Regall; Smiths *three single combats*; *His Patent from* Sigismundus, *and reward.*

The unhappie siege of *Caniza.*

THe worthy Lord *Rosworme* had not a worse journey to the miserable Seige of *Caniza*, (where by the extremitie of an extraordinary continuing tempest of haile, wind, frost and snow, in so much that the *Christians* were forced to leave their Tents and Artillery, and what they had; it being so cold that three or foure hundred of them were frozen to death in a night, and two or three thousand lost in that miserable flight in the snowie tempest, though they did know no enemie at all to follow them:) than the noble Earle of *Meldritch* had to *Transilvania*, where hearing of the death of *Michael* and the brave Duke *Mercury*, and knowing the policie of *Busca*, and the Prince his Roialtie, being now beyond all beleefe of men, in possession of the best part of *Transilvania*, perswaded his troopes, in so honest a cause, to assist the Prince against the *Turke*, rather than *Busca* against the Prince.

Earle *Meldritch* serveth Prince *Sigismundus.*

The souldiers being worne out with those hard payes and travells, upon hope to have free libertie to make bootie upon what they could get possession of from the *Turkes*, was easily perswaded to follow him whithersoever. Now this noble Earle was a *Transilvanian* borne, and his fathers Countrey yet inhabited by the *Turkes*; for *Transilvania* was yet in three divisions, though the Prince had the hearts both of Country and people; yet the Frontiers had a Garrison amongst the unpassable mountaines, some for the Emperour, some for the Prince, and some for the *Turke*: to regaine which small estate, hee desired leave of the Prince to trie his fortunes, and to make use of that experience, the time of twentie yeares had taught him in the Emperours service, promising to spend the rest of his dayes for his countries defence in his Excellencies service. The Prince glad of so brave a Commander, and so many expert and ancient souldiers, made him Campe-master of his Armie, gave him all necessary releefe for his troopes and what freedome they desired to plunder the *Turkes*.

Earle *Meldritch* maketh incursions to discover *Regall.*

The Earle having made many incursions into the Land of *Zarkam* among those rockie mountains, where were some *Turks*, some *Tartars*, but most *Banditoes*, *Rennegadoes*, and such like, which sometimes

times hee forced into the Plaines of *Regall*, where is a Citie not only of men and fortifications, strong of it selfe, but so environed with mountaines, that made the passages so difficult, that in all these warres no attempt had beene made upon it to any purpose: Having satisfied himselfe with the Situation, and the most convenient passages to bring his Armie unto it: The earth no sooner put on her greene habit, than the Earle overspread her with his armed troopes. To possesse himselfe first of the most convenient passage, which was a narrow valley betwixt two high mountaines; he sent Colonell *Veltus* with his Regiment, dispersed in companies to lye in *Ambuscado*, as he had directed them, and in the morning to drive all the cattell they could finde before a Fort in that passage, whom he supposed would sally, seeing but some small partie, to recover their prey; which tooke such good success, that the Garrison was cut off by the *Ambuscado*, and *Veltus* seized on the Skonces, which was abandoned. *Meldritch* glad of so fortunate a beginning, it was six dayes ere he could with six thousand Pioners make passage for his Ordnance: The *Turkes* having such warning, strengthened the Towne so with men and provision, that they made a scorne of so small a number as *Meldritch* brought with him before the Citie, which was but eight thousand. Before they had pitched their Tents, the *Turkes* sallied in such abundance, as for an houre they had rather a bloudy battell than a skirmish, but with the loss of neere fifteene hundred on both sides. The *Turkes* were chased till the Cities Ordnance caused the Earle to retire. The next day *Zachel Moyses*, Generall of the Armie, pitched also his tents with nine thousand foot and horse, and six and twenty peeces of Ordnance; but in regard of the situation of this strong Fortresse, they did neither feare them nor hurt them, being upon the point of a faire promontory, environed on the one side within halfe a mile with an un-usefull mountaine, and on the other side with a faire Plaine, where the *Christians* encamped, but so commanded by their Ordnance, they spent neere a month in entrenching themselves, and raising their mounts to plant their batteries; which slow proceedings the *Turkes* oft derided, that their Ordnance were at pawne, and how they grew fat for want of exercise, and fearing lest they should depart ere they could assault their Citie, sent this Challenge to any Captaine in the Armie.

Moyses besiegeth *Regall.*

That to delight the Ladies, who did long to see some court-like pastime, the Lord *Turbashaw* did defie any Captaine, that had the command of a Company, who durst combate with him for his head: The matter being discussed, it was accepted, but so many questions grew for the undertaking, it was decided by lots, which fell upon Captaine *Smith*, before spoken of.

Truce

Truce being made for that time, the Rampiers all beset with faire Dames, and men in Armes, the *Christians* in *Battalio*; *Turbashaw* with a noise of Howboyes entred the fields well mounted and armed; on his shoulders were fixed a paire of great wings, compacted of Eagles feathers within a ridge of silver, richly garnished with gold and precious stones, a *Janizary* before him, bearing his Lance, on each side another leading his horse; where long he stayed not, ere *Smith* with a noise of Trumpets, only a Page bearing his Lance, passing by him with a courteous salute, tooke his ground with such good successe, that at the sound of the charge, he passed the *Turke* thorow the sight of his Beaver, face, head and all, that he fell dead to the ground, where alighting and unbracing his Helmet, cut off his head, and the *Turkes* tooke his body; and so returned without any hurt at all. The head hee presented to the Lord *Moses*, the Generall, who kindly accepted it, and with joy to the whole armie he was generally welcomed. Three single Combates. 1

The death of this Captaine so swelled in the heart of one *Grualgo*, his vowed friend, as rather inraged with madnesse than choller, he directed a particular challenge to the Conquerour, to regaine his friend's head, or lose his owne, with his horse and Armour for advantage, which according to his desire, was the next day undertaken: as before upon the sound of the Trumpets, their Lances flew in peeces upon a cleare passage, but the *Turke* was neere unhorsed. Their Pistolls was the next, which marked *Smith* upon the placard; but the next shot the *Turke* was so wounded in the left arme, that being not able to rule his horse, and defend himselfe, he was throwne to the ground, and so bruised with the fall, that he lost his head, as his friend before him; with his horse and Armour; but his body and his rich apparell was sent back to the Towne. 2

Every day the *Turkes* made some sallies, but few skirmishes would they endure to any purpose. Our workes and approaches being not yet advanced to that height and effect which was of necessitie to be performed; to delude time, *Smith* with so many incontradictible perswading reasons, obtained leave that the Ladies might know he was not so much enamoured of their servants heads, but if any *Turke* of their ranke would come to the place of combate to redeem them, should have his also upon the like conditions, if he could winne it.

The challenge presently was accepted by *Bonny Mulgro*. The next day both the Champions entring the field as before, each discharging their Pistoll, having no Lances, but such martiall weapons as the defendant appointed, no hurt was done; their Battle-axes was the next, whose piercing bils made sometime the one, sometime the other to have scarce sense to keepe their saddles, specially the *Christian* received such a blow that he lost his Battle axe, and failed not much 3

to

to have fallen after it, wherat the supposing conquering *Turk*, had a great shout from the Rampiers. The *Turk* prosecuted his advantage to the uttermost of his power; yet the other, what by the readinesse of his horse, and his judgement and dexterity in such a businesse, beyond all mens expectation, by Gods assistance, not onely avoided the *Turkes* violence, but having drawne his Faulchion, pierced the *Turke* so under the Culets thorow backe and body, that although he alighted from his horse, he stood not long ere hee lost his head, as the rest had done.

Chapter viii.

Georgio Busca *an* Albane *his ingratitude to Prince* Sigismundus; *Prince* Moyses *his Lieutenant, is overthrowne by* Busca, *Generall for the Emperour* Rodolphus; Sigismundus *yeeldeth his Countrey to* Rodolphus; Busca *assisteth Prince* Rodoll *in* Wallachia.

THis good successe gave such great encouragement to the whole Armie, that with a guard of six thousand, three spare horses, before each a *Turkes* head upon a Lance, he was conducted to the Generalls Pavillion with his Presents. *Moyses* received both him and them with as much respect as the occasion deserved, embracing him in his armes, gave him a faire Horse richly furnished, a Semitere and belt worth three hundred ducats; and *Meldritch* made him Sergeant major of his Regiment. But now to the siege, having mounted six and twenty peeces of Ordnance fifty or sixty foot above the Plaine, made them so plainly tell his meaning, that within fifteene dayes two breaches were made, which the *Turkes* as valiantly defended as men could; that day was made a darksome night, but by the light that proceeded from the murdering Muskets, and peace-making Canon, whilest their slothfull Governour lay in a Castle on the top of a high mountaine, and like a valiant Prince asketh what's the matter, when horrour and death stood amazed each at other, to see who should prevaile to make him victorious: *Moyses* commanding a generall assault upon the sloping front of the high Promontory, where the Barons of *Budendorfe* and *Oberwin* lost neere halfe their Regiments, by logs, bags of powder, and such like, tumbling downe the hill, they were to mount ere they could come to the breach; notwithstanding with an incredible courage they advanced to the push of the Pike with

Regall assaulted and taken.

with the defendãts, that with the like courage repulsed, till the Earle *Meldritch*, *Becklefield* and *Zarvana*, with their fresh Regiments seconded them with that fury, that the *Turks* retired and fled into the Castle, from whence by a flag of truce they desired composition. The Earle remembring his fathers death, battered it with all the Ordnance in the Towne, and the next day tooke it; all he found could beare Armes he put to the sword, and set their heads upon stakes round about the walles, in the same manner they had used the *Christians*, when they tooke it. *Moyses* having repaired the Rampiers, and throwne downe the worke in his Campe, he put in it a strong Garrison, though the pillage he had gotten in the Towne was much, having beene for a long time an impregnable den of theeves; yet the losse of the Armie so intermingled the sowre with the sweet, as forced *Moyses* to seek a further revenge, that he sacked *Veratio*, *Solmos*, and *Kupronka*, and with two thousand prisoners, most women and children, came to *Esenberg*, not farre from the Princes Palace, where he there Encamped.

Sigismundus comming to view his Armie, was presented with the Prisoners, and six and thirtie Ensignes; where celebrating thankes to Almightie God in triumph of those victories, hee was made acquainted with the service *Smith* had done at *Olumpagh*, *Stowle-Wesenburg* and *Regall*, for which with great honour hee gave him three *Turkes* heads in a Shield for his Armes, by Patent, under his hand and Seale, with an Oath ever to weare them in his Colours, his Picture in Gould, and three hundred Ducats, yearely for a Pension.

The Patent.

SIGISMVNDVS BATHORI, *Dei gratia Dux* Transilvaniæ, Wallachiæ, *&* Vandalorum; *Comes* Anchard, Salford, Growenda; *Cunctis his literis significamus qui eas lecturi aut audituri sunt, concessam licentiam aut facultatem* Iohanni Smith, *natione* Anglo *Generoso,* 250. *militum Capitaneo sub Illustrissimi & Gravissimi* Henrici Volda, *Comitis de* Meldri, Salmariæ, *&* Peldoiæ *primario, ex* 1000. *equitibus* & 1500. *peditibus bello* Vngarico *conductione in Provincias supra scriptas sub Authoritate nostra: cui servituti omni laude, perpetuaq;, memoria*

memoria dignum præbuit sese erga nos, ut virum strenuum pugnantem pro aris & focis decet. Quare è favore nostro militario ipsumordine condonavimus, & in Sigillum illius tria Turcica *Capita designare & deprimere concessimus, quæ ipse gladio suo ad Vrbem* Regalem *in singulari prælio vicit, mactavit, at'q, decollavit in* Transilvaniæ *Provincia: Sed fortuna cum variabilis anceps'q; sit idem forte fortuito in* Wallachia *Provincia Anno Domini* 1602. *die Mensis Novembris* 18. *cum multis aliis etiam Nobilibus & aliis quibusdam militibus captus est à Domino* Bascha *electo ex* Cambia *regionis* Tartariæ, *cujus severitate adductus salutem quantam potuit quæsivit, tantumque effecit, Deo omnipotente adjuvante, ut deliberavit se, & ad suos Commilitones revertit; ex quibus ipsum liberavimus, & hæc nobis testimonia habuit ut majori licentia frueretur qua dignus esset, jam tendet in patriam suam dulcissimam: Rogamus ergo omnes nostros charissimos, confinitimos, Duces, Principes, Comites, Barones, Gubernatores Vrbium & Navium in eadem Regione & cæterarum Provinciarum in quibus ille residere conatus fuerit ut idem permittatur Capitaneus libere sine obstaculo omni versari. Hæc facientes per gratum nobis feceritis. Signatum* Lesprizia *in* Misnia *die Mensis Decembris* 9. *Anno Domini* 1603

Cum Privilegio propriæ Majestatis.

SIGISMVNDVS BATHORI

UNIVERSIS, & *singulis, cujuscunq; loci, status, gradus ordinis, ac conditionis ad quos hoc præsens scriptum pervenerit,* Guilielmus Segar *Eques auratus aliàs dictus Garterus Principalis Rex Armorum* Anglicorum, *Salutem.* Sciatis, *quod Ego prædictus Garterus, notum, testatumque facio, quod Patentem suprascriptum, cum manu propriaprædicti Ducis* Transilvaniæ *subsignatum, & Sigillo suo affixum, Vidi:*

Vidi: & Copiam veram ejusdem (in perpetuam rei memoriam) transcripsi, & recordavi in Archivis, & Registris Officii Armorum. Datum Londini 19. *die Augusti, Anno Domini* 1625. *Annoque Regni Domini nostri* CAROLI *Dei gratia Magnæ* Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ *Regis, Fidei Defensoris, &c. Primo.*

GVILIELMVS SEGAR, Garterus.

SIGISMUNDUS BATHOR, by the Grace of God, Duke of *Transilvania, Wallachia,* and *Moldavia,* Earle of *Anchard, Salford* and *Growenda*; to whom this Writing may come or appeare. Know that We have given leave and licence to *John Smith* an *English* Gentleman, Captaine of 250. Souldiers, under the most Generous and Honourable *Henry Volda*, Earle of *Meldritch*, *Salmaria,* and *Peldoia*, Colonell of a thousand horse, and fifteene hundred foot, in the warres of *Hungary,* and in the Provinces aforesaid under our authority; whose service doth deserve all praise and perpetuall memory towards us, as a man that did for God and his Country overcome his enemies: Wherefore out of Our love and favour, according to the law of Armes, We have ordained and given him in his shield of Armes, the figure and description of three *Turks* heads, which with his sword before the towne of *Regall,* in single combat he did overcome, kill, and cut off, in the Province of *Transilvania.* But fortune, as she is very variable, so it chanced and happened to him in the Province of *Wallachia,* in the yeare of our Lord, 1602. the 18. day of November, with many others, as well Noblemen, as also divers other Souldiers, were taken prisoners by the Lord *Bashaw* of *Cambia,* a Country of *Tartaria*; whose cruelty brought him such good fortune, by the helpe and power of Almighty God, that hee delivered himselfe, and returned againe to his company and fellow souldiers, of whom We doe discharge him, and this hee hath in witnesse thereof, being much more worthy of a better reward; and now intends to returne to his owne sweet Country. We desire therefore all our loving and kinde kinsmen, Dukes, Princes, Earles, Barons, Governours of Townes, Cities, or Ships, in this Kingdome, or any other Provinces he shall come in, that you freely let passe this the aforesaid Captaine, without any hinderance

The same in *English.*

hinderance or molestation, and this doing, with all kindnesse we are alwayes ready to doe the like for you. Sealed at *Lipswick* in *Misenland,* the ninth of December, in the yeare of our Lord, 1603.

With the proper privilege of his Majestie SIGISMVNDVS BATHOR.

TO all and singular, in what place, state, degree, order, or condition whatsoever, to whom this present writing shall come: I *William Segar* Knight, otherwise Garter, and principall King of Armes of *England,* with health. Know that I the aforesaid Garter, do witnesse and approve, that this aforesaid Patent, I have seene, signed, & sealed, under the proper hand and Seale Manual of the said Duke of *Transilvania,* and a true coppy of the same, as a thing for perpetuall memory, I have subscribed and recorded in the Register and office of the Heralds of Armes. Dated at London the nineteenth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord, 1625. and in the first yeare of our Soveraigne Lord *Charles* by the grace of God, King of great *Britaine, France,* and *Ireland*; Defender of the faith, &c.

WILLIAM SEGAR

Chapter ix.

Sigismundus *sends Ambassadours unto the Emperour; the conditions re-assured; He yeeldeth up all to* Busca, *and returneth to* Prague.

BUsca having all this time beene raising new forces, was commanded from the Emperour againe to invade *Transilvania,* which being one of the fruitfullest and strongest Countries in those parts, was now rather a desart, or the very spectacle of desolation; their fruits and fields overgrowne with weeds, their Churches and battered Palaces and best buildings, as for feare, hid with Mosse and Ivy; being the very Bulwarke and Rampire of a great part of *Europe,* most fit by all Christians to have been supplyed and maintained, was thus brought to ruine by them it most concerned to support it. But alas,

alas, what is it, when the power of Majestie pampered in all delights of pleasant vanity, neither knowing nor considering the labour of the Ploughman, the hazard of the Merchant, the oppression of Statesmen; nor feeling the piercing tormẽts of broken limbes, & inveterated wounds, the toilsome marches, the bad lodging, the hungry diet, and the extreme misery that Souldiers endure to secure all those estates, and yet by the spight of malicious detraction, starves for want of their reward and recompences; whilest the politique Courtier, that cõmonly aimes more at his owne honors & ends, than his Countries good, or his Princes glory, honour, or security, as this worthy Prince too well could testifie. But the Emperor being certified how weak and desperate his estate was, sent *Busca* againe with a great Army, to trie his fortune once more in *Transilvania*. The Prince considering how his Country & subjects were consumed, the small means he had any longer to defend his estate, both against the cruelty of the *Turke*, & the power of the Emperor, & the small care the *Polanders* had in supplying him, as they had promised, sent to *Busca* to have truce, till messengers might be sent to the Emperour for some better agreement, wherewith *Busca* was contented. The Ambassadours so prevailed, that the Emperour re-assured unto them the conditions he had promised the Prince at their confederacie for the lands in *Silesia*, with 60000. ducats presently in hand, and 50000. ducats yearely as a pension. When this conclusion was knowne to *Moyses* his Lieftenant then in the field with the Army, that would doe any thing rather than come in subjection to the *Germans*, he encouraged his Souldiers, and without any more adoe marched to encounter *Busca*, whom he found much better provided than he expected; so that betwixt them in six or seven houres, more than five or six thousand on both sides lay dead in the field. *Moyses* thus overthrowne, fled to the *Turkes* at *Temesware*, and his scattered troopes some one way, some another.

Busca in *Transilvania* overthroweth *Moyses*.

The Prince understanding of this so sudden and unexpected accident, onely accompanied with an hundred of his Gentry and Nobility, went into the campe to *Busca*, to let him know, how ignorant he was of his Lieftenants errour, that had done it without his direction or knowledge, freely offering to performe what was concluded by his Ambassadours with the Emperour; and so causing all his Garrisons to come out of their strong holds, he delivered all to *Busca* for the Emperour, and so went to *Prague*, where he was honourably received, and established in his possessions, as his Emperiall Majestie had promised. *Busca* assembling all the Nobility, tooke their oaths of allegeance and fidelity, and thus their Prince being gone, *Transilvania* became againe subject to the Emperour.

Sigismundus yeeldeth his country to *Busca*.

Now after the death of *Michael*, Vavoyd of *Wallachia*, the *Turke* sent one *Jeremie* to be their Vavoyd or Prince; whose insulting tyranny caused

Busca assisteth *Rodoll* in *Wallachia*.

caused the people to take Armes against him, so that he was forced to flie into the confines of *Moldavia*; and *Busca* in the behalfe of the Emperour, proclaimed the Lord *Rodoll* in his stead. But *Jeremy* having assembled an Army of forty thousand *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moldavians*, returned into *Wallachia*. *Rodoll* not yet able to raise such a power, fled into *Transilvania* to *Busca*, his ancient friend; who considering well of the matter, and how good it would be for his owne security to have *Wallachia* subject to the Emperour, or at least such an employment for the remainders of the old Regiments of *Sigismundus*, (of whose greatnesse and true affection hee was very suspitious,) sent them with *Rodoll* to recover *Wallachia*, conducted by the valiant Captaines, the Earle *Meldritch*, Earle *Veltus*, Earle *Nederspolt*, Earle *Zarvana*, the Lord *Bechlefield*, the Lord *Budendorfe*, with their Regiments, and divers others of great ranke and quality, the greatest friends and alliances the Prince had; who with thirty thousand, marched along by the river *Altus*, to the streights of *Rebrinke*, where they entred *Wallachia*, encamping at *Raza*; *Jeremie* lying at *Argish*, drew his Army into his old campe, in the plaines of *Peteske*, and with his best diligence fortified it, intending to defend himselfe till more power came to him from the *Crym-Tartar*. Many small parties that came to his campe, *Rodoll* cut off, and in the nights would cause their heads to be throwne up and downe before the trenches. Seven of their Porters were taken, whom *Jeremie* commanded to be flayed quicke, and after hung their skinnes upon poles, and their carkasses and heads on stakes by them.

Chapter x.

The battell of Rotenton; *a pretty stratagem of fire-workes by* Smith.

Rodoll not knowing how to draw the enemie to battell, raised his Armie, burning and spoyling all where he came, and returned againe towards *Rebrinke* in the night, as if he had fled upon the general rumour of the *Crym-Tartars* comming, which so inflamed the *Turkes* of a happy victory, they urged *Jeremy* against his will to follow them. *Rodoll* seeing his plot fell out as he desired, so ordered the matter, that having regained the streights, he put his Army in order, that had beene neere two dayes pursued, with continuall skirmishes in his Reare, which now making head against the enemie, that followed with their whole Armie in the best manner they

A battell betwixt *Rodoll* and *Jeremie*.

they could, was furiously charged with six thousand *Hydukes*, *Wallachians*, and *Moldavians*, led by three Colonells, *Oversall*, *Dubras*, and *Calab*, to entertaine the time till the rest came up; *Veltus* and *Nederspolt* with their Regiments, entertained them with the like courage, till the Zanzacke *Hamesbeg*, with six thousand more, came with a fresh charge, which *Meldritch* and *Budendorfe*, rather like enraged lions, than men, so bravely encountred, as if in them only had consisted the victory; *Meldritchs* horse being slaine under him, the *Turks* pressed what they could to have taken him prisoner, but being remounted, it was thought with his owne hand he slew the valiant Zanzacke, whereupon his troopes retyring, the two proud *Bashawes*, *Aladin*, and *Zizimmus*, brought up the front of the body of their battell, *Veltus* and *Nederspolt* having breathed, and joyning their troopes with *Becklefield* and *Zarvana*, with such an incredible courage charged the left flancke of *Zizimmus*, as put them all in disorder, where *Zizimmus* the *Bashaw* was taken prisoner, but died presently upon his wounds. *Jeremie* seeing now the maine battell of *Rodoll* advance, being thus constrained, like a valiant Prince in his front of the Vantgard, by his example so bravely encouraged his souldiers, that *Rodoll* found no great assurance of the victorie. Thus being joyned in this bloudy massacre, that there was scarce ground to stand upon, but upon the dead carkasses, which in lesse than an hower were so mingled, as if each Regiment had singled out other. The admired *Aladin* that day did leave behinde him a glorious name for his valour, whose death many of his enemies did lament after the victory, which at that instant fell to *Rodoll*. It was reported *Jeremie* was also slaine, but it was not so, but fled with the remainder of his Armie to *Moldavia*, leaving five and twenty thousand dead in the field, of both Armies. And thus *Rodoll* was seated againe in his Soveraignty, and *Wallachia* became subject to the Emperour.

Wallachia subjected to the Emperour.

But long he rested not to settle his new estate, but there came newes, that certain Regiments of stragling *Tartars*, were forraging those parts towards *Moldavia*. *Meldritch* with thirteene thousand men was sent against them, but when they heard it was the *Crym-Tartar* and his two sonnes, with an Armie of thirty thousand; and *Jeremie*, that had escaped with fourteene or fifteene thousand, lay in ambush for them about *Langanaw*, he retired towards *Rottenton*, a strong garrison for *Rodoll*; but they were so invironed with these hellish numbers, they could make no greate haste for skirmishing with their scouts, forragers, and small parties that still encountered them. But one night amongst the rest, having made a passage through a wood, with an incredible expedition, cutting trees thwart each other to hinder their passage, in a thicke fogge early in the morning, unexpectedly they met two thousand loaded with pillage, and two or three

hundred

hundred horse and cattell; the most of them were slaine and taken prisoners, who told them where *Jeremie* lay in the passage, expecting the *Crym-Tartar* that was not farre from him. *Meldritch* intending to make his passage perforce, was advised of a pretty stratagem by the English *Smith*, which presently he thus accomplished; for having accommodated two or three hundred truncks with wilde fire, upon the heads of lances, and charging the enemie in the night, gave fire to the truncks, which blazed forth such flames and sparkles, that it so amazed not onely their horses, but their foot also; that by the meanes of this flaming encounter, their own horses turned tailes with such fury, as by their violence overthrew *Jeremy* & his Army, without any losse at all to speake of to *Meldritch*. But of this victory long they triumphed not; for being within three leagues of *Rottenton*, the *Tartar* with neere forty thousand so beset them, that they must either fight, or be cut in peeces flying. Here *Busca* and the Emperour had their desire; for the Sunne no sooner displayed his beames, than the *Tartar* his colours; where at midday he stayed a while, to see the passage of a tyrannicall and treacherous imposture, till the earth did blush with the bloud of honesty, that the Sunne for shame did hide himselfe, from so monstrous sight of a cowardly calamity. It was a most brave sight to see the banners and ensignes streaming in the aire, the glittering of Armour, the variety of colours, the motion of plumes, the forrests of lances, and the thicknesse of shorter weapons, till the silent expedition of the bloudy blast from the murdering Ordnance, whose roaring voice is not so soone heard, as felt by the aymed at object, which made among them a most lamentable slaughter.

Chapter xi.

The names of the English *that were slaine in the battell of* Rottenton; *and how Captaine* Smith *is taken prisoner; and sold for a slave.*

IN the valley of *Veristhorne*, betwixt the river of *Altus*, and the mountaine of *Rottenton*, was this bloudy encounter, where the most of the dearest friends of the noble Prince *Sigismundus* perished. *Meldritch* having ordered his eleven thousand in the best manner he could, at the foot of the mountaine upon his flancks, and before his front, he had pitched sharpe stakes, their heads hardned in the fire, and bent against the enemie, as three battalion of Pikes, amongst the

the which also there was digged many small holes. Amongst those stakes was ranged his footmen, that upon the charge was to retire, as there was occasion. The *Tartar* having ordered his 40000. for his best advantage, appointed *Mustapha Bashaw* to beginne the battell, with a generall shout, all their Ensignes displaying, Drummes beating, Trumpets and Howboyes sounding. *Nederspolt* and *Mavazo* with their Regiments of horse most valiantly encountred, and forced them to retire; the *Tartar Begolgi* with his Squadrons, darkening the skies with their flights of numberles arrowes, who was as bravely encountred by *Veltus* and *Oberwin*, which bloudie slaughter continued more than an houre, till the matchlesse multitude of the *Tartars* so increased, that they retired within their Squadrons of stakes, as was directed. The bloudy *Tartar*, as scorning he should stay so long for the victorie, with his massie troopes prosecuted the charge: but it was a wonder to see how horse and man came to the ground among the stakes, whose disordered troopes were there so mangled, that the *Christians* with a loud shout cryed *Victoria*; and with five or six field peeces, planted upon the rising of the mountaine, did much hurt to the enemy that still continued the battell with that furie, that *Meldritch* seeing there was no possibilitie long to prevaile, joyned his small troopes in one body, resolved directly to make his passage or die in the conclusion; and thus in grosse gave a generall charge, and for more than halfe an houre made his way plaine before him, till the maine battel of the *Crym-Tartar* with two Regiments of *Turkes* and *Janizaries* so overmatched them, that they were overthrowen. The night approaching, the Earle with some thirteene or foureteene hundred horse, swamme the River, some were drowned, all the rest slaine or taken prisoners: And thus in this bloudy field, neere 30000. lay, some headlesse, armelesse and leglesse, all cut and mangled; where breathing their last, they gave this knowledge to the world, that for the lives of so few, the *Crym-Tartar* never paid dearer. But now the Countreyes of *Transilvania* and *Wallachia*, (subjected to the Emperour) and *Sigismundus* that brave Prince his Subject and Pensioner, the most of his Nobilitie, brave Captaines and Souldiers, became a prey to the cruell devouring *Turke*: where had the Emperor been as ready to have assisted him, and those three Armies led by three such worthy Captaines, as *Michael*, *Busca*, and Himselfe, and had those three Armies joyned together against the *Turke*, let all men judge, how happie it might have beene for all Christendome: and have either regained *Bulgaria*, or at least have beat him out of *Hungaria*, where hee hath taken much more from the Emperour, than hath the Emperour from *Transilvania*.

The battell of *Rottenton*.

Extracted out of a Booke intituled, The warres of *Hungaria*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, written by *Francisco Ferneza*, a learned Italian, the Princes Secretarie, and translated by Mr. *Purchas*.

In this dismall battell, where *Nederspolt*, *Veltus*, *Zarvana*, *Mavazo*, *Bavell*, and many other Earles, Barons, Colonels, Captaines, brave Gentlemen

The English men in this Battell.

Gentlemen, and Souldiers were slaine. Give mee leave to remember the names of our owne Country-men with him in those exploits, that as resolutely as the best in the defence of *Christ* and his Gospell, ended their dayes, as *Baskerfield*, *Hardwicke*, *Thomas Milemer*, *Robert Mullineux*, *Thomas Bishop*, *Francis Compton*, *George Davison*, *Nicholas Williams*, and one *John* a Scot, did what men could doe, and when they could doe no more, left there their bodies in testimonie of their mindes; only Ensigne *Carleton* and Sergeant *Robinson* escaped: but *Smith* among the slaughtered dead bodies, and many a gasping soule, with toile and wounds lay groaning among the rest, till being found by the Pillagers hee was able to live, and perceiving by his armor & habit, his ransome might be better to them, than his death, they led him prisoner with many others; well they used him till his wounds were cured, and at *Axopolis* they were all sold for slaves, like beasts in a market-place, where everie Merchant, viewing their limbs and wounds, caused other slaves to struggle with them, to trie their strength, hee fell to the share of *Bashaw Bogall*, who sent him forthwith to *Adrinopolis*, so for *Constantinople* to his faire Mistresse for a slave. By twentie and twentie chained by the neckes, they marched in file to this great Citie, where they were delivered to their severall Masters, and he to the young *Charatza Tragabigzanda*.

Chapter xii.

How Captaine Smith *was sent prisoner thorow the* Blacke *and* Dissabacca *Sea in Tartaria; the description of those Seas, and his usage.*

THis Noble Gentlewoman tooke sometime occasion to shew him to some friends, or rather to speake with him, because shee could speake Italian, would feigne her selfe sick when she should goe to the *Bavians*, or weepe over the graves, to know how *Bogall* tooke him prisoner; and if he were as the *Bashaw* writ to her, a *Bohemian* Lord conquered by his hand, as hee had many others, which ere long hee would present her, whose ransomes should adorne her with the glorie of his conquests.

But when she heard him protest he knew no such matter, nor ever saw *Bogall* till be bought him at *Axopolis*, and that hee was an *English-man*, onely by his adventures made a Captaine in those Countreyes. To trie the truth, shee found meanes to finde out many could

could speake English, French, Dutch, and Italian, to whom relating most part of these former passages he thought necessarie, which they so honestly reported to her, she tooke (as it seemed) much compassion on him; but having no use for him, lest her mother should sell him, she sent him to her brother, the *Tymor Bashaw* of *Nalbrits*, in the Countrey of *Cambia*, a Province in *Tartaria*.

How he was sent into *Tartaria*.

Here now let us remember his passing in this speculative course from *Constantinople* by *Sander*, *Screwe*, *Panassa*, *Musa*, *Lastilla*, to *Varna*, an ancient Citie upon the Blacke Sea. In all which journey, having little more libertie, than his eyes judgement since his captivitie, he might see the Townes with their short Towers, and a most plaine, fertile, and delicate Countrey, especially that most admired place of *Greece*, now called *Romania*, but from *Varna*, nothing but the Black Sea water, till he came to the two Capes of *Taur* and *Pergilos*, where hee passed the Straight of *Niger*, which (as he conjectured) is some ten leagues long, and three broad, betwixt two low lands, the Channell is deepe, but at the entrance of the Sea *Dissabacca*, their are many great Osie-shoulds, and many great blacke rockes, which the *Turkes* said were trees, weeds, and mud, throwen from the in-land Countryes, by the inundations and violence of the Current, and cast there by the Eddy. They sayled by many low Iles, and saw many more of those muddy rockes, and nothing else, but salt water, till they came betwixt *Susax* and *Curmke*, only two white townes at the entrance of the river *Bruapo* appeared: In six or seven dayes saile, he saw foure or five seeming strong castles of stone, with flat tops and battlements about them, but arriving at *Cambia*, he was (according to their custom) well used. The river was there more than halfe a mile broad. The Castle was of a large circumference, foureteene or fifteene foot thicke, in the foundation some six foot from the wall, is a Paliizado, and then a Ditch of about fortie foot broad full of water. On the west side of it, is a Towne all of low flat houses, which as he conceived could bee of no great strength, yet it keepes all them barbarous Countreyes about it in admiration and subjection. After he had stayed there three dayes; it was two dayes more before his guides brought him to *Nalbrits*, where the *Tymor* then was resident, in a great vast stonie Castle with many great Courts about it, invironed with high stone wals, where was quartered their Armes, when they first subjected those Countreyes, which only live to labour for those tyrannicall *Turkes*.

The description of the *Dissabacca* Sea.

Smith his usage in *Tartaria*.

To her unkinde brother, this kinde Ladie writ so much for his good usage, that hee halfe suspected, as much as she intended; for she told him; he should there but sojourne to learne the language, and what it was to be a *Turke*, till time made her Master of her selfe. But the *Tymor* her brother, diverted all this to the worst of crueltie, for

for within an houre after his arrivall, he caused his *Drub-man* to strip him naked, and shave his head and beard so bare as his hand, a great ring of iron, with a long stalke bowed like a sickle, rivetted about his necke, and a coat made of Ulgries haire, guarded about with a peece of an undrest skinne. There were many more Christian slaves, and neere an hundred *Forsados* of *Turkes* and *Moores*, and he being the last, was slave of slaves to them all. Among these slavish fortunes there was no great choice; for the best was so bad, a dog could hardly have lived to endure, and yet for all their paines and labours no more regarded than a beast.

Chapter xiii.

The Turkes *diet*; *the Slaves diet*; *the attire of the* Tartars; *and manner of Warres and Religions, &c.*

The *Tymors* diet of *Cambia* is as the *Turkes*.

THe *Tymor* and his friends fed upon Pillaw, which is boiled Rice and Garnances, with little bits of mutton or Buckones, which is rosted peeces of Horse, Bull, Ulgrie, or any beasts. *Samboyses* and *Muselbis* are great dainties, and yet but round pies, full of all sorts of flesh they can get chopped with varietie of herbes. Their best drinke is *Coffa*, of a graine they call *Coava*, boiled with water; and *Sherbecke*, which is only honey and water; Mares milke, or the milke of any beast, they hold restorative: but all the Com-

The Slaves diet.

minaltie drinke pure water. Their bread is made of this *Coava*, which is a kinde of blacke wheat, and *Cuskus* a small white feed like *Millya* in *Biskay*: but our common victuall, the entrailes of Horse and Ulgries; of this cut in small peeces; they will fill a great Cauldron, and being boiled with *Cuskus*, and put in great bowles in the forme of chaffingdishes, they sit round about it on the ground, after they have raked it thorow so oft as they please with their foule fists, the remainder was for the *Christian* slaves. Some of this broth they would temper with *Cuskus* pounded, and putting the fire off from the hearth, powre there a bowle full, then cover it with coales till it be baked, which stewed with the remainder of the broth, and some small peeces of flesh, was an extraordinarie daintie.

The Attire of those *Tartars*.

The better sort are attired like *Turkes*, but the plaine *Tartar* hath a blacke sheepe skinne over his backe, and two of the legs tied about his necke; the other two about his middle, with another over his belly, and the legs tied in the like manner behinde him: then two more made like a paire of bases, serveth him for breeches; with a

little

little close cap to his skull of blacke felt, and they use exceeding much of this felt, for carpets, for bedding, for Coats, and Idols. Their houses are much worse than your *Irish*, but the In-land Countreyes have none but Carts and Tents, which they ever remove from Countrey to Countrey, as they see occasion, driving with them infinite troopes of blacke sheepe, Cattell and Ulgries, eating all up before them, as they goe.

The *Tartars* of *Nagi* and their manners.

For the *Tartars* of *Nagi*, they have neither Towne, nor house, corne, nor drinke; but flesh and milke. The milke they keepe in great skinnes like *Burracho's*, which though it be never so sower, it agreeth well with their strong stomackes. They live all in *Hordias*, as doth the *Crim-Tartars*, three or foure hundred in a company, in great Carts fifteene or sixteene foot broad, which is covered with small rods, wattled together in the forme of a birds nest turned upwards, and with the ashes of bones tempered with oile, Camels haire, and a clay they have: they lome them so well, that no weather will pierce them, and yet verie light. Each *Hordia* hath a *Murse*, which they obey as their King. Their Gods are infinite. One or two thousand of those glittering white Carts drawen with Camels, Deere, Buls, and Ulgries, they bring round in a ring, where they pitch their Campe; and the *Murse*, with his chiefe alliances, are placed in the midst. They doe much hurt when they can get any *Stroggs*, which are great boats used upon the river *Volga*, (which they call *Edle*) to them that dwell in the Countrey of *Perolog*, and would doe much more, were it not for the *Muscovites* Garrisons that there inhabit.

Chapter xiv.

The description of the Crym-Tartars; *their houses and carts*; *their Idolatry in their lodgings.*

The description of the *Crym-Tartars* Court.

NOw you are to understand, *Tartary and Scythia* are all one, but so large and spacious, few or none could ever perfectly describe it, nor all the severall kinds of those most barbarous people that inhabit it. Those we call the *Crym-Tartars*, border upon *Moldavia*, *Podolia*, *Lituania*, and *Russia*, are much more regular than the interior parts of *Scythia*. This great *Tartarian* Prince, that hath so troubled all his neighbours, they alwayes call *Chan*, which signifieth Emperour; but we, the *Crym-Tartar*. He liveth for most part in the best champion plaines of many Provinces; and his removing Court is like a great Citie of houses and tents, drawne on Carts, all so orderly placed East and

and West, on the right and left hand of the Prince his house, which is always in the midst towards the South, before which none may pitch their houses, every one knowing their order and quarter, as in an Armie. The Princes houses are very artificially wrought, both the foundation, sides, and roofe of wickers, ascending round to the top like a Dove-coat; this they cover with white felt, or white earth tempered with the powder of bones, that it may shine the whiter; sometimes with blacke felt, curiously painted with vines, trees, birds, and beasts; the breadth of the Carts are eighteene or twenty foot, but the house stretcheth foure or five foot over each side, and is drawne with ten or twelve, or for more state, twenty Camels and Oxen. They have also great baskets, made of smaller wickers like great chests, with a covering of the same, all covered over with blacke felt, rubbed over with tallow and sheeps milke, to keepe out the raine; prettily bedecked with painting or feathers; in those they put their houshold stuffe and treasure, drawne upon other carts for that purpose. When they take downe their houses, they set the doore always towards the South, and their carts thirtie or fortie foot distant on each side, East and West, as if they were two walls: the women also have most curious carts; every one of his wives hath a great one for herselfe, and so many other for her attendants, that they seeme as many courts, as he hath wives. One great *Tartar* or Nobleman, will have for his particular, more than an hundred of those houses and carts, for his several offices and uses, but set so farre from each other, they will seeme like a great village. Having taken their houses from the carts, they place the Master alwayes towards the North; over whose head is alwayes an Image like a Puppet, made of felt, which they call his brother; the women on his left hand, and over the chiefe Mistris her head, such another brother, and betweene them a little one, which is the keeper of the house; at the good wives beds-feet is a kids skinne, stuffed with wooll, and neere it a Puppet looking towards the Maids; next the doore another, with a dried cowes udder, for the women that milke the kine, because only the men milke mares; every morning those Images in their orders they besprinkle with that they drinke, bee it Cossmos, or whatsoever, but all the white mares milke is reserved for the Prince. Then without the door, thrice to the South, every one bowing his knee in honour of the fire; then the like to the East, in honour of the aire; then to the West, in honour of the water; and lastly to the North, in behalfe of the dead. After the servant hath done this duty to the foure quarters of the world, he returnes into the house, where his fellowes stand waiting, ready with two cups and two basons to give their master, and his wife that lay with him that night, to wash and drinke, who must keepe him company all the day following; and all his

His houses and carts.

Baskets.

Their idolatrie in their lodgings.

Cossmos is Mares milke.

his other wives come thither to drinke, where hee keepes his house that day; and all the gifts presented him till night, are laid up in her chests; and at the doore a bench full of cups, and drinke for any of them to make merry.

Chapter xv.

Their feasts; common diet; Princes estate; buildings; tributes; lawes; slaves; entertainment of Ambassadours.

FOr their feasts they have all sorts of beasts, birds, fish, fruits, and hearbs they can get; but the more variety of wilde ones is the best; to which they have excellent drinke made of rice, millit, and honey, like wine; they have also wine, but in Summer they drink most Cossmos, that standeth ready alwayes at the entrance of the doore, and by it a fidler; when the master of the house beginneth to drinke, they all cry, ha, ha, and the fidler playes, then they all clap their hands and dance, the men before their Masters, the women before their Mistresses; and ever when he drinks, they cry as before; then the fidler stayeth till they drinke all round; sometimes they will drinke for the victory; and to provoke one to drinke, they will pull him by the ears, and lugge and draw him, to stretch and heat him, clapping their hands, stamping with their feet, and dancing before the champions, offering them cups, then draw them backe againe to increase their appetite; and thus continue till they be drunke, or their drinke done, which they hold an honour, and no infirmity. Their feasts.

Though the ground be fertile, they sow little corne, yet the Gentlemen have bread and hony-wine; grapes they have plenty, and wine privately, and good flesh & fish; but the common sort stamped millit, mingled with milke and water. They call Cassa for meat, and drinke any thing; also any beast unprofitable for service they kill, when they are like to die, or however they die, they will eat them, guts liver and all; but the most fleshy parts they cut in thinne slices, and hang it up in the Sunne and wind without salting, where it will drie so hard, it will not putrifie in a long time. A Ramme they esteeme a great feast among forty or fiftie, which they cut in peeces boiled or roast, puts it in a great bowle with salt and water, for other sauce they have none; the master of the feast giveth every one a peece, which he eateth by himselfe, or carrieth away with him. Thus their hard fare makes them so infinite in Cattell, and their great number of captived women to breed upon, makes them so populous. But neere the Christian Their common diet. How they become populous.

tian frontiers, the baser sort make little cottages of wood, called *Vlusi*, daubed over with durt, and beasts dung covered with sedge; yet in Summer they leave them, beginning their progresse in Aprill, with their wives, children, and slaves, in their carted houses, scarce convenient for foure or five persons; driving their flocks towards *Perecopya*, and sometimes into *Taurica*, or *Osow*, a towne upon the river *Tanais*, which is great and swift, where the *Turke* hath a garrison; and in October returne againe to their Cottages. Their Clothes are the skinnes of dogges, goats, and sheepe, lined with cotten cloath, made of their finest wooll, for of their worst they make their felt, which they use in aboundance, as well for shooes and caps, as houses, beds, and Idolls; also of the coarse wooll mingled with horse haire, they make all their cordage. Notwithstanding this wandring life, their Princes sit in great state upon beds, or carpits, and with great reverence are attended both by men and women, and richly served in plate, and great silver cups, delivered upon the knee, attired in rich furres, lined with plush, or taffity, or robes of tissue. These *Tartars* possesse many large and goodly plaines, wherein feed innumerable herds of horse and cattell, as well wilde as tame; which are Elkes, Bisones, Horses, Deere, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, Beares, and divers others.

Their Princes state.

In those countries are the ruines of many faire Monasteries, Castles, and Cities, as *Bacasaray*, *Salutium*, *Almassary*, *Perecopya*, *Cremum*, *Sedacom*, *Capha*, and divers others by the Sea, but all kept with strong garrisons for the great *Turke*, who yearely by trade or trafficke, receiveth the chiefe commodities those fertile countries afford, as Bezer, Rice, Furres, Hides, Butter, Salt, Cattell, and Slaves, yet by the spoiles they get from the secure and idle *Christians*, they maintaine themselves in this Pompe. Also their wives, of whom they have as many as they will, very costly, yet in a constant custome with decency.

Ancient buildings.

Commodities for tribute to the *Turke*.

They are *Mahometans*, as are the *Turks*, from whom also they have their Lawes, but no Lawyers, nor Attournies, onely Judges, and Justices in every Village, or Hordia; but capitall criminalls, or matters of moment, before the Chan himselfe, or Privie Counsells, of whom they are alwayes heard, and speedily discharged; for any may have accesse at any time to them, before whom they appeare with great reverence, adoring their Princes as Gods, and their spirituall Judges as Saints; for Justice is with such integrity and expedition executed, without covetousnesse, bribery, partiality, and brawling, that in six moneths they have sometimes scarce six causes to heare. About the Princes court none but his guard weares any weapon, but abroad they goe very strong, because there are many bandytos, and Theeves.

Good lawes, yet no lawyers.

They use the *Hungarians*, *Russians*, *Wallachians*, and *Moldavian* slaves (whereof they have plenty) as beasts to every worke; and those

Their slaves.

those *Tartars* that serve the Chan, or noblemen, have only victuall and apparell, the rest are generally nasty, and idle, naturally miserable, and in their warres better theeves than souldiers.

His entertainment of Ambassadours.

This *Chan* hath yeerely a Donative from the King of *Poland*, the Dukes of *Lituania*, *Moldavia*, and *Nagagon Tartars*; their Messengers commonly he useth bountifully, and verie nobly, but sometimes most cruelly; when any of them doth bring their Presents, by his houshold Officers they are entertained in a plaine field, with a moderate proportion of flesh, bread and wine, for once; but when they come before him, the *Sultaines*, *Tuians*, *Ulans*, *Marbies*, his chiefe Officers and Councellors attend, one man only bringeth the Ambassadour to the Court gate, but to the *Chan* he is led betweene two Councellors; where saluting him upon their bended knees, declaring their message, are admitted to eat with him, and presented with a great silver cup full of Mead from his owne hand, but they drinke it upon their knees: when they are dispatched, he invites them againe, the feast ended, they go backe a little from the Palace doore, and rewarded with silke Vestures wrought with gold downe to their anckles, with an horse or two, and sometimes a slave of their owne Nation; in them robes presently they come to him againe, to give him thankes, take their leave, and so depart.

Chapter xvi.

How he levieth an Armie; their Armes and Provision; how he divideth the spoile; and his service to the Great Turke.

How he levieth an Armie.

When he intends any warres, he must first have leave of the Great *Turke*, whom hee is bound to assist when hee commandeth, receiving daily for himselfe and chiefe of his Nobilitie, pensions from the *Turke*, that holds all Kings but slaves, that pay tribute or are subject to any: signifying his intent to all his subjects, within a moneth commonly he raiseth his Armie, and everie man is to furnish himselfe for three moneths victuals, which is parched *Millit*, or grownd to meale, which they ordinarily mingle with water (as is said) hard cheese or cruds dried, and beaten to powder, a little will make much water like milke, and dried flesh, this they put also up in sackes: The *Chan* and his Nobles have some bread and *Aquavitæ*, and quicke cattell to kill when they please, wherewith verie sparingly they are contented. Being provided with expert Guides, and got into the Countrey he intends to invade, he sends

sends forth his Scouts to bring in what prisoners they can, from whom he will wrest the utmost of their knowledge fit for his purpose: having advised with his Councell, what is most fit to be done, the Nobilitie, according to their antiquitie, doth march; then moves he with his whole Armie: if hee finde there is no enemie to oppose him, he adviseth how farre they shall invade, commanding everie man (upon paine of his life) to kill all the obvious Rusticks; but not to hurt any women, or children.

The manner of his warres.

Ten, or fifteene thousand, he commonly placeth, where hee findeth most convenient for his standing Campe; the rest of his Armie hee divides in severall troops, bearing ten or twelve miles square before them, and ever within three or foure dayes returne to their Campe, putting all to fire and sword, but that they carrie with them backe to their Campe; and in this scattering manner he will invade a Countrey, and be gone with his prey, with an incredible expedition. But if he understand of an enemie, he will either fight in Ambuscado, or flie; for he will never fight any battell if he can chuse, but upon treble advantage; yet by his innumerable flights of arrowes, I have seene flie from his flying troopes, we could not well judge, whether his fighting or flying was most dangerous, so good is his horse, and so expert his bowmen; but if they be so intangled they must fight, there is none can bee more hardy, or resolute in their defences.

How he divides the spoile.

Regaining his owne borders, he takes the tenth of the principall captives, man, woman, childe, or beast (but his captaines that take them, will accept of some particular person they best like for themselves) the rest are divided amongst the whole Armie, according to every mans desert, and quality; that they keepe them, or sell them to who will give most; but they will not forget to use all the meanes they can, to know their estates, friends, and quality, and the better they finde you, the worse they will use you, till you doe agree to pay such a ransome, as they will impose upon you; therefore many great persons have endured much misery to conceale themselves, because their ransomes are so intolerable: their best hope is of some *Christian* Agent, that many times commeth to redeeme slaves, either with mony, or man for man; those Agents knowing so well the extreme covetousnesse of the *Tartars*, doe use to bribe some Jew or Merchant, that feigning they will sell them againe to some other nation, are oft redeemed for a very small ransome.

How the Chan doth serve the great *Turke*.

But to this *Tartarian* Armie, when the *Turke* commands, he goeth with some small artillery; and the *Nagagians*, *Perecopens*, *Crimes*, *Osovens*, and *Cersessians*, are his tributaries; but the *Petigorves*, *Oczaconians*, *Byalogordens*, and *Dobrucen Tartars*, the *Turke* by covenant commands to follow him, so that from all those *Tartars* he hath had an Army of an hundred and twenty thousand excellent, swift, stomackfull *Tar-*

tarian

tarian horse, for foot they have none. Now the Chan, his Sultaines and nobility, use *Turkish*, *Caramanian*, *Arabian*, *Parthian*, and other strange *Tartarian* horses; the swiftest they esteeme the best; seldome they feede any more at home, than they have present use for; but upon their plaines is a short wodde like heath, in some countries like gaile, full of berries, farre much better than any grasse.

Their Armes. Their Armes are such as they have surprised or got from the *Christians* or *Persians*, both brest-plates, swords, semiteres, and helmets; bowes and arrowes they make most themselves, also their bridles and saddles are indifferent, but the nobility are very handsome, and well armed like the *Turkes*, in whom consisteth their greatest glory; the ordinary sort have little armor, some a plaine young pole unshaven, headed with a peece of iron for a lance; some an old *Christian* pike, or a *Turks* cavarine; yet those tattertimallions will have two or three horses, some foure or five, as well for service, as for to eat; which makes their Armies seem thrice so many as there are souldiers. The *Chan* himselfe hath about his person ten thousand chosen *Tartars* and *Janizaries*, some small Ordnance, and a white mares taile, with a peece of greene taffity on a great Pike, is carried before him for a standard; because they hold no beast so precious as a white mare, whose milke is onely for the King & nobility, and to sacrifice to their Idolls; but the rest have ensignes of divers colours.

For all this miserable knowledge, furniture, and equipage, the mischiefe they doe in *Christendome* is wonderfull, by reason of their hardnesse of life and constitution, obedience, agilitie, and their Emperours bountie, honours, grace, and dignities he ever bestoweth upon those, that have done him any memorable service in the face of his enemies.

A description of the *Caspian* Sea. The *Caspian* Sea, most men agree that have passed it, to be in length about 200. leagues, and in breadth an hundred & fifty, environed to the East, with the great desarts of the *Tartars* of *Turkamane*; to the West, by the *Circasses*, and the mountaine *Caucasus*; to the North, by the river *Volga*, and the land of *Nagay*; and to the South, by *Media*, and *Persia*: this sea is fresh water in many places, in others as salt as the great Ocean; it hath many great rivers which fall into it, as the mighty river of *Volga*, which is like a sea, running neere two thousand miles, through many great and large Countries, that send into it many other great rivers; also out of *Saberya*, *Yaick* and *Yem*, out of the great mountaine *Caucasus*, the river *Sirus*, *Arash*, and divers others, yet no Sea neerer it than the blacke Sea, which is at least an hundred leagues distant: in which Country live the *Georgians*, now part *Armenians*, part *Nestorians*; it is neither found to increase or diminish, or empty it selfe any way, except it be under ground, and in some places they can finde no ground at two hundred fadome.

Many

Many other most strange and wonderfull things are in the land of *Cathay* towards the North-east, and *Chyna* towards the South-east, where are many of the most famous Kingdomes in the world; where most arts, plenty, and curiosities are in such abundance, as might seeme incredible, which hereafter I will relate, as I have briefly gathered from such authors as have lived there.

Chapter xvii.

How captaine Smith *escaped his captivity; slew the* Bashaw *of* Nalbrits *in* Cambia; *his passage to* Russia; Transilvania, *and the middest of* Europe *to* Affrica.

How *Smith* escaped his captivity.

ALL the hope he had ever to be delivered from this thraldome, was only the love of *Tragabigzanda*, who surely was ignorant of his bad usage; for although he had often debated the matter with some *Christians*, that had beene there a long time slaves, they could not finde how to make an escape, by any reason or possibility; but God beyond mans expectation or imagination helpeth his servants, when they least thinke of helpe, as it hapned to him. So long he lived in this miserable estate, as he became a thresher at a grange in a great field, more than a league from the *Tymors* house; the *Bashaw* as he oft used to visit his granges, visited him, and tooke occasion so to beat, spurne, and revile him, that forgetting all reason, he beat out the *Tymors* braines with his threshing bat, for they have no flailes; and seeing his estate could be no worse than it was, clothed himselfe in his clothes, hid his body under the straw, filled his knapsacke with corne, shut the doores, mounted his horse, and ranne into the desart at all adventure; two or three dayes thus fearfully wandring he knew not whither, and well it was he met not any to aske the way; being even as taking leave of this miserable world, God did direct him to the great way or Castragan, as they call it, which doth crosse these large territories, and generally knowne among them by these markes.

Their guides in those Countries.

In every crossing of this great way is planted a post, and in it so many bobs with broad ends, as there be wayes, and every bob the figure painted on it, that demonstrateth to what part that way leadeth; as that which pointeth towards the *Cryms* Country, is marked with a halfe Moone, if towards the *Georgians* and *Persia*, a blacke man, full of white spots, if towards *China*, the picture of the Sunne,

if

if towards *Muscovia*, the signe of a Crosse, if towards the habitation of any other Prince, the figure whereby his standard is knowne. To his dying spirits thus God added some comfort in this melancholy journey, wherein if he had met any of that vilde generation, they had made him their slave, or knowing the figure engraven in the iron about his necke, (as all slaves have) he had beene sent backe againe to his master; sixteene dayes he travelled in this feare and torment, after the Crosse, till he arrived at *Ægopolis*, upon the river *Don*, a garrison of the *Muscovites*. The governour after due examination of those his hard events, tooke off his irons, and so kindly used him, he thought himselfe new risen from death, and the good Lady *Callamata*, largely supplied all his wants.

The description of *Cambia*, and his passage to *Russia*.

This is as much as he could learne of those wilde Countries, that the Country of *Cambia* is two dayes journy from the head of the great river *Bruapo*, which springeth from many places of the mountaines of *Innagachi*, that joyne themselves together in the Poole *Kerkas*; which they account for the head, and falleth into the Sea *Dissabacca*, called by some the lake *Meotis*, which receiveth also the river *Tanais*, and all the rivers that fall from the great Countries of the *Circassi*, the *Cartaches*, and many from the *Tauricaes*, *Precopes*, *Cummani*, *Cossunka*, and the *Cryme*; through which Sea he sailed, and up the river *Bruapo* to *Nalbrits*, and thence through the desarts of *Circassi* to *Ægopolis*, as is related; where he stayed with the Governour, till the Convoy went to *Coragnaw*; then with his certificate how hee found him, and had examined with his friendly letters sent him by *Zumalacke* to *Caragnaw*, whose Governour in like manner so kindly use him, that by this meanes he went with a safe conduct to *Letch*, and *Donka*, in *Cologoske*, and thence to *Berniske*, and *Newgrod* in *Seberia*, by *Rezechica*, upon the river *Niper*, in the confines of *Littuania*; from whence with as much kindnesse he was convoyed in like manner by *Coroski*, *Dubereskо*, *Duzibell*, *Drohobus*, and *Ostroge* in *Volonia*; *Saslaw* and *Lasco* in *Podolia*; *Halico* and *Collonia* in *Polonia*; and so to *Hermonstat* in *Transilvania*. In all his life he seldome met with more respect, mirth, content, and entertainment; and not any Governour where he came, but gave him somewhat as a present, besides his charges; seeing themselves as subject to the like calamity. Through those poore continually forraged Countries there is no passage, but with the Carravans or Convoyes; for they are Countries rather to be pitied, than envied; and it is a wonder any should make warres for them. The Villages are onely here and there a few houses of straight Firre trees, laid heads and points above one another, made fast by notches at the ends more than a mans height, and with broad split boards, pinned together with woodden pinnes, as thatched for coverture. In ten Villages you shall scarce finde ten iron nailes, except it be in some extraordinary

His observations in his journey to *Transilvania*, through the midst of *Europe*.

extraordinary mans house. For their Townes, *Ækopolis*, *Letch*, and *Donko*, have rampiers made of that woodden walled fashion, double, and betwixt them earth and stones, but so latched with crosse timber, they are very strong against any thing but fire; and about them a deepe ditch, and a Palizado of young Firre trees: but most of the rest have only a great ditch cast about them, and the ditches earth is all their rampier; but round well environed with Palizadoes. Some have some few small peeces of small Ordnance, and slings, calievers, and muskets, but their generallest weapons are the *Russe* bowes and arrowes; you shall find pavements over bogges, onely of young Firre trees laid crosse one over another, for two or three houres journey, or as the passage requires, and yet in two dayes travell you shall scarce see six habitations. Notwithstanding to see how their Lords, Governours, and Captaines are civilized, well attired and acoutred with Jewells, Sables, and Horses, and after their manner with curious furniture, it is wonderfull; but they are all Lords or slaves, which makes them so subject to every invasion.

In *Transilvania* he found so many good friends, that but to see, and rejoyce himselfe (after all those encounters) in his native Country, he would ever hardly have left them, though the mirrour of vertue their Prince was absent. Being thus glutted with content, and neere drowned with joy, he passed high *Hungaria* by *Fileck*, *Tocka*, *Cassovia*, and *Underoroway*, by *Ulmicht* in *Moravia*, to *Prague* in *Bohemia*; at last he found the most gracious Prince *Sigismundus*, with his Colonell at *Lipswick* in *Misenland*, who gave him his Passe, intimating the service he had done, and the honours he had received, with fifteene hundred ducats of gold to repaire his losses: with this he spent some time to visit the faire Cities and Countries of *Drasdon* in *Saxonie*, *Magdaburgh* and *Brunswicke*; *Cassell* in *Hessen*; *Wittenberg*, *Vilum*, and *Minikin* in *Bavaria*; *Aughsbrough*, and her Universities; *Hama*, *Franckford*, *Mentz*, the *Palatinate*; *Wormes*, *Speyre*, and *Strausborough*; passing *Nancie* in *Loraine*, and *France* by *Paris* to *Orleans*, hee went downe the river of *Loyer*, to *Angiers*, and imbarked himselfe at *Nantz* in *Britanny*, for *Bilbao* in *Biskay*, to see *Burgos-Valiadolid*, the admired monasterie of the *Escuriall*, *Madrill*, *Toledo*, *Cordua*, *Cuedyriall*, *Civill*, *Cheryes*, *Cales*, and Saint *Lucas* in *Spaine*.

Chapter xviii.

The observations of Captaine Smith; *Mr* Henrie Archer *and others in* Barbarie.

BEing thus satisfied with *Europe* and *Asia*, understanding of the warres in *Barbarie*, hee went from *Gibralter* to *Guta* and *Tanger*, thence to *Saffee*, where growing into acquaintance with a French man of warre, the Captaine and some twelve more went to *Morocco*, to see the ancient monuments of that large renowned Citie: it was once the principal Citie in *Barbarie*, situated in a goodly plaine Countrey, 14. miles from the great Mount *Atlas*, and sixtie miles from the *Atlanticke* Sea; but now little remaining, but the Kings Palace, which is like a Citie of it selfe, and the *Christian* Church, on whose flat square steeple is a great brouch of iron, whereon is placed the three golden Bals of *Affrica*: the first is neere three Ells in circumference, the next above it somewhat less, the uppermost the least over them, at it were an halfe Ball, and over all a prettie guilded *Pyramides*. Against those golden Bals hath been shot many a shot, their weight is recorded 700. weight of pure gold, hollow within, yet no shot did ever hit them, nor could ever any Conspirator attaine that honor as to get them downe. They report the Prince of *Morocco* betrothed himselfe to the Kings Daughter of *Æthiopia*, he dying before their marriage, she caused those three golden Balls to be set up for his Monument, and vowed virginitie all her life. The *Alfantica* is also a place of note, because it is invironed with a great wall, wherein lye the goods of all the Merchants securely guarded. The *Juderea* is also (as it were) a Citie of it selfe, where dwell the Jewes: the rest of the most part is defaced: but by the many pinnacles and towers, with Balls on on their tops, hath much appearance of much sumptuousnesse and curiositie. There have been many famous Universities, which are now but stables for Fowles & Beasts, & the houses in most parts lye tumbled one above another; the walls of Earth are with the great fresh flouds washed to the ground; nor is there any village in it, but tents for Strangers, *Larbes* & *Moores*. Strange tales they will tell of a great Garden, wherein were all sorts of Birds, Fishes, Beasts, Fruits & Fountaines, which for beautie, Art and pleasure, exceeded any place knowne in the world, though now nothing but dung-hils, Pigeon-houses, shrubs and bushes. There are yet many excellent fountaines adorned with marble, and many arches, pillers, towers, ports and Temples; but most only reliques of lamentable ruines and sad desolation.

The three golden Bals of *Affrica*.

The description of *Morocco*.

When

A bloudie Empresse.

When *Mully Hamet* reigned in *Barbarie*, hee had three sonnes, *Mully Shecke*, *Mully Sidan*, and *Mully Befferres*, he a most good and noble King, that governed well with peace and plentie, till his Empresse, more cruell than any beast in *Affrica*, poysoned him, her owne daughter, *Mully Shecke* his eldest sonne borne of a Portugall Ladie, and his daughter, to bring *Mully Sidan* to the Crowne now reigning, which was the cause of all those brawles and warres that followed betwixt those Brothers, their children, and a *Saint* that start up, but he played the Devill.

King *Mully Hamet*, or the Great *Zereff* of *Barbarie*.

King *Mully Hamet* was not blacke, as many suppose, but *Molata*, or tawnie, as are the most of his subjects; everie way noble, kinde and friendly, verie rich and pompous in State and Majestie, though hee sitteth not upon a Throne nor Chaire of Estate, but crosse legged upon a rich Carpet, as doth the *Turke*, whose Religion of *Mahomet*, with an incredible miserable curiositie they observe. His Ordinarie Guard is at least 5000. but in progresse he goeth not with less than 20000. horsemen, himselfe as rich in all his Equipage, as any Prince in Christendome, and yet a Contributor to the *Turke*. In all his Kingdome were so few good Artificers, that hee entertained from *England*, Gold-smiths, Plummers, Carvers, and Polishers of stone, and Watch-makers, so much hee delighted in the reformation of workmanship, hee allowed each of them ten shillings a day standing fee, linnen, woollen, silkes, and what they would for diet and apparell, and custome-free to transport, or import what they would; for there were scarce any of those qualities in his Kingdomes, but those, of which there are divers of them living at this present in *London*. Amongst the rest, one M^r *Henry Archer*, a Watch-maker, walking in *Morocco*, from the *Alfantica* to the *Juderea*, the way being verie foule, met a great Priest, or a *Sante* (as they call all great Clergy-men) who would have thrust him into the durt for the way; but *Archer*, not knowing what he was, gave him a box on the eare, presently he was apprehended, and condemned to have his tongue cut out, and his hand cut off: but no sooner it was knowen at the Kings Court, but 300. of his Guard came, and broke open the Prison, and delivered him, although the fact was next degree to Treason.

His great love to English-men.

The strange love of a Lyon.

Concerning this *Archer*, there is one thing more worth noting: Not farre from Mount *Atlas*, a great Lionesse in the heat of the day, did use to bathe her selfe, and teach her young Puppies to swimme in the river *Cauzeff*, of a good bredth; yet she would carrie them one after another over the river; which some *Moores* perceiving watched their opportunitie, and when the river was betweene her and them, stole foure of her whelps, which she perceiving, with all the speed she could passed the river, and comming neere them they let fall a whelpe (and fled with the rest) which she tooke in her mouth, and

so returned to the rest: a Male and a Female of those they gave M^r *Archer*, who kept them in the Kings Garden, till the Male killed the Female, then he brought it up as a Puppy-dog lying upon his bed, till it grew so great as a Mastiffe, and no dog more tame or gentle to them he knew: but being to returne for *England*, at *Saffe* he gave him to a Merchant of *Marsellis*, that presented him to the French King, who sent him to King *James*, where it was kept in the Tower seven yeeres: After one M^r *John Bull*, then servant to M^r *Archer*, with divers of his friends, went to see the Lyons, not knowing anything at all of him; yet this rare beast smelled him before hee saw him, whining, groaning, and tumbling, with such an expression of acquaintance, that being informed by the Keepers how hee came thither; M^r *Bull* so prevailed, the Keeper opened the grate, and *Bull* went in: But no Dogge could fawne more on his Master, than the Lyon on him, licking his feet, hands, and face, skipping and tumbling to and fro, to the wonder of all beholders; being satisfied with his acquaintance, he made shift to get out of the grate. But when the Lyon saw his friend gone, no beast by bellowing, roaring, scratching, and howling, could express more rage and sorrow, nor in foure dayes after would he either eat or drinke.

Another kinde Lyon in *Morocco*.

In *Morocco*, the Kings Lyons are all together in a Court, invironed with a great high wall; to those they put a young Puppy-dogge: the greatest Lyon had a sore upon his necke, which this Dogge so licked that he was healed: the Lyon defended him from the furie of all the rest, nor durst they eat till the Dogge and he had fed; this Dog grew great, and lived amongst them many yeeres after.

The description of *Fez*.

Fez also is a most large and plentifull Countrey, the chiefe Citie is called *Fez*, divided into two parts; old *Fez*, containing about 80. thousand housholds, the other 4000. pleasantly situated upon a River in the heart of *Barbarie*, part upon hils, part upon plaines, full of people, and all sorts of Merchandise. The great Temple is called *Carucen*, in bredth seventeene Arches, in length 120. borne up with 2500. white marble pillars: under the chiefe Arch, where the Tribunall is kept, hangeth a most huge lampe, compassed with 110. lesser, under the other also hang great lamps, and about some are burning fifteene hundred lights. They say they were all made of the bels the *Arabians* brought from *Spaine*. It hath three gates of notable height, Priests and Officers so many, that the circuit of the Church, the Yard, and other houses, is little less than a mile and an halfe in compasse; there are in this Citie 200. Schooles, 200. Innes, 400. water-mils, 600. water-Conduits, 700. Temples and Oratories; but fiftie of them most stately and richly furnished. Their *Alcazer* or *Burse* is walled about, it hath twelve gates, and fifteen walks covered with tents, to keepe the Sun from the Merchants, and them that come there. The Kings Palace, both

both for strength and beautie is excellent, and the Citizens have many great privileges. Those two Countreyes of *Fez* and *Morocco*, are the best part of all *Barbarie*, abounding with people, cattell, and all good necessaries for mans use. For the rest, as the *Larbes*, or Mountainers, the Kingdomes of *Cocow*, *Algier*, *Tripoly*, *Tunis*, and *Ægypt*; there are many large histories of them in divers languages, especially that writ by that most excellent Statesman, *John de Leo*, who afterward turned Christian. The unknowen Countries of *Ginny* and *Binne*, this six and twentie yeeres have beene frequented with a few English ships only to trade, especially the river of *Senaga*, by Captaine *Brimstead*, Captaine *Brockit*, M^r. *Crump*, and divers others. Also the great river of *Gambra*, by Captaine *Jobson*, who is returned in thither againe in the yeere 1626. with M^r. *William Grent*, and thirteene or fourteene others, to stay in the Countrey, to discover some way to those rich mines of *Gago* or *Tumbatu*, from whence is supposed the *Moores* of *Barbarie* have their gold, and the certaintie of those supposed descriptions and relations of those interiour parts, which daily the more they are sought into, the more they are corrected. For surely, those interiour parts of *Affrica* are little known to either *English*, *French*, or *Dutch*, though they use much the Coast; therefore wee will make a little bold with the observations of the *Portugalls*.

A briefe description of the most unknowen parts of *Affrica*.

Chapter xix.

The strange discoveries and observations of the Portugalls *in* Affrica.

How the *Portugalls* coasted to the *East Indies*.

THe *Portugalls* on those pars have the glorie, who first coasting along this Westerne shore of *Affrica*, to finde passage to the *East Indies*, within this hundred and fiftie yeeres, even from the Streights of *Gibralter*, about the Cape of *Bone Esperance* to the *Persian Gulfe*, and thence all along the *Asian* Coast to the *Moluccas*, have subjected many great Kingdomes, erected many Common-wealths, built many great and strong Cities; and where is it they have not beene by trade or force? no not so much as *Cape de Verd*, and *Sermleone*; but most Bayes or Rivers, where there is any trade to bee had, especially gold, or conveniencie for refreshment, but they are scattered; living so amongst those *Blacks*, by time and cunning they seeme to be naturalized amongst them. As for the Isles of the *Canaries*, they have faire Townes, many Villages, and many thousands of people rich in commodities.

Odoardo

Odoardo Lopez, a noble *Portugall*, *Anno Dom.* 1578. imbarquing himselfe for *Congo* to trade, where he found such entertainment, finding the King much oppressed with enemies, hee found meanes to bring in the *Portugalls* to assist him, whereby he planted there Christian Religion, and spent most of his life to bring those Countreyes to the Crowne of *Portugall*, which he describeth in this manner. Or *Edward.*

The Kingdome of *Congo* is about 600. miles diameter any way, the chiefe Citie called *S^t. Savadore*, seated upon an exceeding high mountaine, 150. miles from the Sea, verie fertile, and inhabited with more than 100000. persons, where is an excellent prospect over all the plaine Countreyes about it, well watered, lying (as it were) in the Center of this Kingdome, over all which the *Portugalls* now command, though but an handfull in comparison of *Negroes*. They have flesh and fruits verie plentifull of divers sorts. The Kingdome of *Congo.*

This Kingdom is divided into five Provinces, viz. *Bamba*, *Sundi*, *Pango*, *Batta* and *Pembo*; but *Bamba* is the principall, and can afford 400000. men of warre. Elephants are bred over all those Provinces, and of wonderfull greatnesse; though some report they cannot kneele, nor lye downe, they can doe both, and have their joynts as other creatures for use: with their fore-feet they will leape upon trees to pull downe the boughes, and are of that strength, they will shake a great *Cocar* tree for the nuts, and pull downe a good tree with their tuskes, to get the leaves to eat, as well as sedge and long grass, *Cocar* nuts and berries, &c. which with their trunke they put in their mouth, and chew it with their smaller teeth; in most of those Provinces, are many rich mines, but the *Negars* opposed the *Portugalls* for working in them. Wilde Elephants.

The Kingdome of *Angola* is wonderfull populous, and rich in mines of silver, copper, and most other mettalls; fruitfull in all manner of food, and sundry sorts of cattell, but dogges flesh they love better than any other meat; they use few clothes, and no Armour; bowes, arrowes, and clubs, are their weapons. But the *Portugalls* are well armed against those engines, and do buy yearely of those *Blacks* more than five thousand slaves, and many are people exceeding well proportioned. The Kingdome of *Angola.*

The *Anchicos* are a most valiant nation, but most strange to all about them. Their Armes are Bowes, short and small, wrapped about with serpents skinnes, of divers colours, but so smooth you would thinke them all one with the wood, and it makes them very strong; their strings little twigs, but exceeding tough and flexible; their arrowes short, which they shoot with an incredible quicknesse. They have short axes of brasse and copper for swords; wonderfull loyall and faithfull, and exceeding simple, yet so active, they skip amongst the rockes like goats. They trade with them of *Nubea*, and *Congo*, for The Kingdome of *Anchicos.*

Lamache,

A strange mony.

Lamache, which is a small kinde of shell fish, of an excellent azure colour, male and female, but the female they hold most pure; they value them at divers prices, because they are of divers sorts, and those they use for coine, to buy and sell, as we doe gold and silver; nor will they have any other money in all those Countries, for which they give Elephants teeth; and slaves for salt, silke, linnen cloth, glass-beads, and such like *Portugall* commodities.

A shambles of mans flesh.

They circumcise themselves, and marke their faces with sundry slashes from their infancie. They keepe a shambles of mans flesh, as if it were beefe, or other victuall; for when they cannot have a good market for their slaves; or their enemies they take, they kill, and sell them in this manner; some are so resolute, in shewing how much they scorne death, they will offer themselves and slaves, to this butchery to their Prince and friends; and though there be many nations will eat their enemies, in *America* and *Asia*, yet none but those are knowne to be so mad, as to eat their slaves and friends also.

Their Religions and Idols.

Religions and idolls they have as many, as nations and humours; but the devill hath the greatest part of their devotions, whom all those *Blacks* doe say is white; for there are no Saints but *Blacks*.

Divers nations yet unknowne, and the wonders of *Affrica*.

But besides those great Kingdomes of *Congo*, *Angola*, and *Azichi*, in those unfrequented parts are the kingdomes of *Lango*, *Matania*, *Buttua*, *Sofola*, *Mozambeche*, *Quivola*, the Isle of Saint *Lawrence*, *Mombaza*, *Melinda*, the Empires of *Monomatopa*, *Monemugi*, and *Presbiter John*, with whom they have a kinde of trade, and their rites, customes, climates, temperatures, and commodities by relation. Also of great Lakes, that deserve the names of Seas, and huge mountaines of divers sorts, as some scorched with heat, some covered with snow; the mountaines of the Sunne, also of the Moone, some of crystall, some of iron, some of silver, and mountaines of gold, with the originall of *Nilus*; likewise sundry sorts of cattell, fishes, Fowles, strange beasts, and monstrous serpents; for *Affrica* was always noted to be a fruitfull mother of such terrible creatures; who meeting at their watering places, which are but Ponds in desart places, in regard of the heat of the Country, and their extremities of nature, make strange copulations, and so ingender those extraordinary monsters. Of all these you may reade in the history of this *Edward Lopez* translated into English by *Abraham Hartwell*, and dedicated to *John* Lord Archibishop of *Canterbury*, 1597. But because the particulars are most concerning the conversion of those Pagans, by a goode poore Priest, that first converted a Noble man, to convert the King, and the rest of the Nobility; sent for so many Priests and ornaments into *Portugall*, to solemnize their baptismes with such magnificence, which was performed with such strange curiosities, that those poore *Negros* adored them as Gods, till the Priests grew to that wealth, a Bishop was sent to rule over them,

which

which they would not endure, which endangered to spoile all before they could bee reconciled. But not to trouble you too long with those rarities of uncertainities; let us return againe to *Barbary*, where the warres being ended, and *Befferres* possessed of *Morocco*, and his fathers treasure, a new bruit arose amongst them, that *Muly Sidan*, was raising an Armie against him, who after tooke his brother *Befferres* prisoner; but by reason of the uncertainity, and the perfidious, treacherous, bloudy murthers rather than warre, amongst those perfidious, barbarous Moores, *Smith* returned with *Merham*, and the rest to *Saffe*, and so aboard his Ship, to try some other conclusions at Sea.

Chapter xx.

A brave Sea fight betwixt two Spanish *men of warre, and Captaine* Merham, *with* Smith.

Merham a captaine of a man of war then in the Road, invited captaine *Smith*, and two or three more of them aboord with him, where he spared not any thing he had to expresse his kindnesse, to bid them welcome, till it was too late to goe on shore, so that necessitie constrained them to stay aboord; a fairer Evening could not bee, yet ere midnight such a storme did arise, they were forced to let slip Cable, and Anchor, and put to Sea; spooning before the wind, till they were driven to the *Canaries*; in the calmes they accommodated themselves, hoping this strange accident might yet produce some good event; not long it was before they tooke a small Barke comming from *Tenerys*, loaded with Wine; three or foure more they chased, two they tooke, but found little in them, save a few passengers, that told them of five *Dutch* men of warre, about the Isles, so that they stood fot *Boyadora*, upon the *Affrican* shore, betwixt which and *Cape Noa*, they descried to saile. *Merham* intending to know what they were, hailed them; very civilly they dansed their topsailes, and desired the man of warre to come aboord them, and take what he would, for they were but two poore distressed *Biskiners*. But *Merham* the old fox, seeing himselfe in the lions pawes, sprung his loufe, the other tacked after him, and came close up to his nether quarter, gave his broadside, and so loufed up to windward; the Vice-Admirall did the like, and at the next bout, the Admirall with a noise of Trumpets, and all his Ordnance, murtherers, and muskets, boorded him on his broadside; the other in like manner on his ley quarter, that is was so darke, there was little light, but fire and smoake; long he

he stayed not, before he fell off, leaving 4. or 5. of his men sprawling over the grating; after they had battered *Merham* about an houre, they boorded him againe as before; and threw four kedgers or grapnalls in iron chaines, then shearing off they thought so to have torne downe the grating; but the Admiralls yard was so intangled in their shrouds, *Merham* had time to discharge two cross barre shot amongst them, and divers bolts of iron made for that purpose, against his bow, that made such a breach, he feared they both should have sunke for company; so that the *Spaniard* was as yare in slipping his chained Grapnalls, as *Merham* was in cutting the tackling, kept fast their yards in his shrouds; the Vice-admirall presently cleared himselfe, but spared neither his Ordnance nor Muskets to keepe *Merham* from getting away, till the Admirall had repaired his leake; from twelve at noone, till six at night, they thus interchanged one volly for another; then the Vice-admirall fell on starne, staying for the Admirall that came up againe to him, and all that night stood after *Merham*, that shaped his course for *Mamora*, but such small way they made, the next morning they were not three leagues off from *Cape Noa*. The two *Spanish* men of warre, for so they were, and well appointed, taking it in scorne as it seemed, with their chase, broadside, and starne, the one after the other, within Musket shot, plying their ordnance; and after an houres worke commanded *Merham* a maine for the King of *Spaine* upon faire quarter; *Merham* dranke to them, and so discharged his quarter peeces: which pride the *Spaniard* to revenge, boorded him againe, and many of them were got to the tip to unsling the maine saile, which the Master and some others from the round house, caused to their cost to come tumbling downe; about the round house the *Spaniards* so pestered, that they were forced to the great Cablen and blew it up; the smoake and fire was so vehement, as they thought the ship on fire; they in the forecastle were no less assaulted, that blew up a peece of the grating, with a great many of *Spaniards* more; then they cleared themselves with all speed, and *Merham* with as much expedition to quench the fire with wet clothes and water, which beganne to grow too fast. The *Spaniard* still playing upon him with all the shot they could; the open places presently they covered with old sailes, and prepared themselves to fight to the last man. The angry *Spaniard* seeing the fire quenched, hung out a flagge of truce to have but a parley; but that desperate *Merham* knew there was but one way with him, and would have none, but the report of his Ordnance, which hee did know well how to use for his best advantage. Thus they spent the next after-noone, and halfe that night, when the *Spanyards* either lost them, or left them .Seven and twentie men *Merham* had slaine, and sixteene wounded, and could finde they had received 140. great shot. A wounded *Spanyard* they kept alive

alive confessed, they had lost 100. men in the Admirall, which they did feare would sinke, ere they could recover a Port. Thus reaccommodating their sailes, they sailed for *Sancta Cruse*, *Cape Goa*, and *Magadore*, till they came againe to *Saffe*, and then he returned into *England*.

Chapter xxi.

The continuation of the generall Historie of Virginia; *the* Summer Iles; *and* New England; *with their present estate from* 1624. *to this present* 1629.

COncerning these Countreyes, I would be sorrie to trouble you with repeating one thing twice, as with their Maps, Commodities, People, Government & Religion yet knowen, the beginning of those plantations, their numbers and names, with the names of the Adventurers, the yeerely proceedings of everie Governour both here and there. As for the misprisions, neglect, grievances, and the causes of all those rumours, losses and crosses that have happened; I referre you to the Generall Historie, where you shall finde all this at large; especially to those pages, where you may read my letter of advice to the Councell and Company, what of necessitie must be done, or lose all and leave the Countrey, pag. 70. what commodities I sent home, pag. 163. my opinion and offer to the Company, to feed and defend the Colonies, pag. 150. my account to them here of my actions there, pag. 163. my seven answers to his Majesties Commissioners: seven questions what hath hindered *Virginia*, and the remedie, pag. 165. How those Noble Gentlemen spent neere two yeares in pursuing all letters came from thence; and the differences betwixt many factions, both here and there, with their complaints; especially about the Sallerie, which should have beene a new office in *London*, for the well ordering the sale of *Tobacco*, that 2500. pounds should yearely have been raised out of it, to pay foure or five hundred pounds yearly to the Governor of that Companie; two or three hundred to his Deputie; the rest into stipends of thirtie or fiftie pounds yearely for their Clerks and under Officers which were never there, pag. 153. but not one hundred pounds for all them in *Virginia*, nor any thing for the most part of the Adventurers in *England*, except the undertakers for the Lotteries, Setters out of ships, Adventurers of commodities, also their Factors and many other Officers, there imployed only by friendship to raise their fortunes out of the labours of the true industrious planters by the title of their office, who under the

the colour of sinceritie, did pillage and deceive all the rest most cunningly: For more than 150000. pounds have beene spent out of the common stocke, besides many thousands have beene there consumed, and neere 7000. people that there died, only for want of good order and government, otherwise long ere this there would have beene more than 20000. people, where after twentie yeeres spent onely in complement, and trying new conclusions, was remaining scarce 1500. with some few cattell.

Then the Company dissolved, but no account of any thing; so that his Majestie appointed Commissioners to oversee, and give order for their proceedings. Being thus in a manner left to themselves, since then within these foure yeeres, you shall see how wonderfully they have increased beyond expectation; but so exactly as I desired, I cannot relate unto you: For although I have tired my selfe in seeking and discoursing with those returned thence, more than would a voyage to *Virginia*; few can tell me any thing, but of that place or places they have inhabited, and he is a great traveller that hath gone up & down the river of *James* Towne, been at *Pamaunke*, *Smiths* Iles, or *Accomack*; wherein for the most part they keepe one tune of their now particular abundance, and their former wants, having beene there, some sixteen yeeres, some twelve, some six, some neere twentie, &c. But of their generall estate, or any thing of worth, the most of them doth know verie little to any purpose.

Their estate 1627.

Now the most I could understand in generall, was from the relation of M^r^ *Nathaniel Cawsey*, that lived there with mee, and returned *Anno Dom.* 1627. and some other affirme; Sir *George Yerley* was Governour, Captaine *Francis West*, Doctor *John Poot*, Captaine *Roger Smith*, Captaine *Matthewes*, Captaine *Tucker*, M^r^ *Clabourne*, and M^r^ *Farrer* of the Councell: their habitations many. The Governour, with two or three of the Councell, are for most part at *James* Towne, the rest repaire thither as there is occasion; but everie three moneths they have a generall meeting, to consider of their publike affaires.

Their numbers.

Their numbers then were about 1500. some say rather 2000. divided into seventeene or eighteene severall Plantations; the greatest part thereof towards the falls, are so inclosed with Pallizadoes they regard not the Salvages; and amongst those Plantations above *James* Towne, they have now found meanes to take plentie of fish, as well with lines, as nets, and where the waters are the largest, having meanes, they need not want.

Their condition with the Salvages.

Upon this River they seldome see any Salvages, but in the woods, many times their fires: yet some few there are, that upon their opportunitie have slaine some few stragglers, which have beene revenged with the death of so many of themselves; but no other attempt hath beene made upon them this two or three yeares.

Their

Their Cattle, namely Oxen, Kine, Buls, they imagine to be about 2000. Goats great store and great increase; the wilde Hogs, which were infinite, are destroyed and eaten by the Salvages: but no family is so poore, that hath not tame Swine sufficient; and for Poultrie, he is a verie bad husband breedeth not an hundred in a yeere, and the richer sort doth daily feed on them. Their increase of Cattle and Poultrie.

For bread they have plentie, and so good, that those that make it well, better cannot be: divers have much English corne, especially M. *Abraham Perce*, which prepared this yeere to sow two hundred acres of English wheat, and as much with barley, feeding daily about the number of sixtie persons at his owne charges. Plenty of Corne.

For drinke, some malt the Indian corne, others barley, of which they make good Ale, both strong and small, and such plentie thereof, few of the upper Planters drinke any water: but the better sort are well furnished with Sacke, *Aquavitæ*, and good English Beere. Their drinke.

Their servants commonly feed upon Milke Homini, which is bruized Indian corne pounded, and boiled thicke, and milke for the sauce; but boiled with milke, the best of all will oft feed on it, and leave their flesh; with milke, butter and cheese; with fish, Bulls flesh, for they seldome kill any other, &c. And everie one is so applyed to his labour about Tobacco and Corne, which doth yeeld them such profit, they never regard any food from the Salvages, nor have they any trade or conference with them, but upon meere accidents and defiances: and now the Merchants have left it, there have gone so many voluntarie ships within this two yeeres, as have furnished them with Apparell, Sacke, *Aquavitæ*, and all necessaries, much better than ever before. Their servants diet.

For Armes, there is scarce any man but he is furnished with a Peece, a Jacke, a Coat of Maile, a Sword, or Rapier; and everie Holy-day, everie Plantation doth exercise their men in Armes, by which meanes, hunting and fowling, the most part of them are most excellent markmen. Their Armes and exercise.

For Discoveries they have made none, nor any other commoditie than Tobacco doe they apply themselves unto, though never any was planted at first. And whereas the Countrey was heretofore held most intemperate and contagious by many, now they have houses, lodgings and victuall, and the Sunne hath power to exhale up the moyst vapours of the earth, where they have cut downe the wood, which before it could not, being covered with spreading tops of high trees; they finde it much more healthfull than before; nor for their numbers, few Countreyes are lesse troubled with death, sicknesse, or any other disease, nor where overgrowne women become more fruitfull. Their health and discoveries.

Since this, Sir *George Yerley* died 1628. Captaine *West* succeeded him; but about a yeere after returned for *England*: Now Doctor *Poot* is Gov- The present estate of *Virginia*, 1629.

ernour,

ernour, and the rest of the Councell as before: *James* Towne is yet their chiefe seat, most of the wood destroyed, little corne there planted, but all converted into pasture and gardens, wherein doth grow all manner of herbs and roots we have in *England* in abundance, and as good grasse as can be. Here most of their Cattle doe feed, their Owners being most some one way, some another, about their plantations, and returne againe when they please, or any shipping comes in to trade. Here in winter they have hay for their Cattell, but in other places they browze upon wood, and the great huskes of their corne, with some corne in them, doth keepe them well. Master *Hutchins* saith, they have 2000. Cattle, and about 5000. people; but Master *Floud*, *John Davis*, *William Emerson*, and divers others, say, about five thousand people, and five thousand kine, calves, oxen, and bulls; for goats, hogs, and poultry; corne, fish, deere, and many sorts of other wilde beasts; and fowle in their season; they have so much more than they spend, they are able to feed three or foure hundred men more than they have; and doe oft much releeve many ships, both there, and for their returne; and this last yeare was there at least two or three and twenty saile. They have oft much salt fish from *New England*, but fresh fish enough, when they will take it; Peaches in abundance at *Kecoughtan*; Apples, Peares, Apricocks, Vines, figges, and other fruits some have planted, that prospered exceedingly, but their diligence about Tobacco, left them to be spoiled by the cattell, yet now they beginne to revive; Mistresse *Pearce*, an honest industrious woman, hath beene there neere twentie yeares, and now returned, saith, shee hath a Garden at *James* towne, containing three or foure acres, where in one yeare shee hath gathered neere an hundred bushels of excellent figges; and that of her owne provision she can keepe a better house in *Virginia*, than here in *London* for 3. or 400. pounds a yeare, yet went thither with little or nothing. They have some tame geese, ducks, and turkies. The masters now do so traine up their servants and youth in shooting deere, and fowle, that the youths will kill them as well as their Masters. They have two brew-houses, but they finde the *Indian* corne so much better than ours, they beginne to leave sowing it. Their Cities and Townes are only scattered houses, they call plantations, as are our Country Villages, but no Ordnance mounted. The Forts Captaine *Smith* left a building, so ruined, there is scarce mention where they were; no discoveries of any thing more, than the curing of Tobacco, by which hitherto, being so present a commodity of gaine, it hath brought them to this abundance; but that they are so disjoynted, and every one commander of himselfe, to plant what he will: they are now so well provided, that they are able to subsist; and if they would joyne together now to worke upon Sope-ashes, Iron, Rape-oile, Mader, Pitch and Tarre, Flax and Hempe; as for their Tobacco,

Master *Hutchins*.

Five thousand people.
Five thousand cattell.
Goats, Hogs, and Poultry, infinite.

Good Hospitality.

Commodities worth making, Blacke Walnut, Ash for Pikes, Oke for planks, knees for Ships, Cipresse for Chests, &c.

bacco, there comes from many places such abundance, and the charge so great, it is not worth the bringing home.

There is gone, and now a going, divers Ships, as Captaine *Perse*, Captaine *Prine*, with Sir *John Harvy* to be their governour, with two or three hundred people; there is also some from *Bristow*, and other parts of the West Country a preparing, which I heartily pray to God to bless, and send them a happy and prosperous voyage.

Nathaniel Causie, Master *Hutchins*, Master *Floud*, *John Davis*, *William Emerson*, Master *William Barnet*, Master *Cooper*, and others.

Chapter xxii.

The proceedings and present estate of the Summer Iles; *from* An. Dom. 1624. *to this present* 1629.

FRom the *Summer Iles*, Master *Ireland*, and divers others report, their Forts, Ordnance, and proceedings, are much as they were in the yeare 1622. as you may read in the generall History, page 199. Captaine *Woodhouse* governour. There are few sorts of any fruits in the *West Indies*, but they grow there in abundance; yet the fertility of the soile in many places decayeth, being planted every yeare; for their Plantaines, which is a most delicate fruit, they have lately found a way, by pickling or drying them, to bring them over into *England*, there being no such fruit in *Europe*, & wonderfull for increase. For fish, flesh, figs, wine, and all sorts of most excellent hearbs, fruits, and rootes they have in abundance. In this Governours time, a kinde of *Whale*, or rather a *Jubarta*, was driven on shore in *Southampton* tribe from the west, over an infinite number of rocks, so bruised, that the water in the Bay where she lay, was all oily, and the rocks about it all bedasht with Parmacitty, congealed like ice, a good quantity we gathered, with which we commonly cured any byle, hurt, or bruise; some burnt it in their lamps, which blowing out, the very snuffe will burne, so long as there is any of the oile remaining, for two or three dayes together.

The present estate of the *Summer Iles*, 1629.

The next Governour, was Captaine *Philip Bell*, whose time being expired, Captaine *Roger Wood* possessed his place, a worthy Gentleman of good desert, and hath lived a long time in the Country; their numbers are about two or three thousand, men, women, and children, who increase there exceedingly; their greatest complaint, is want

want of apparell, and too much custome, and too many officers; the pity is, there are more men than women, yet no great mischiefe, because there is so much lesse pride: the cattell they have increase exceedingly; their forts are well maintained by the Merchants here, and Planters there; to be briefe, this Ile is an excellent bit, to rule a great horse.

All the Cohow birds and Egbirds are gone; seldome any wilde cats seene, no Rats to speake of; but the wormes are yet very troublesome; the people very healthfull; and the Ravens gone; fish enough, but not so neere the shore as it used, by the much beating it; it is an Ile that hath such a rampire and a ditch, and for the quantity so manned, victualled, and fortified, as few in the world doe exceed it, or is like it.

An evill mischance.

The 22. of March, two ships came from thence; the *Peter Bonaventure*, neere two hundred tunnes, and sixteene peeces of Ordnance; the Captaine, *Thomas Sherwin*; The Master, Master *Edward Some*, like him in condition, a goodly, lusty, proper, valiant man: the *Lydia*, wherein was Master *Anthony Thorne*, a smaller ship; were chased by eleven ships of *Dunkerk*; being thus overmatched, Captaine *Sherwin* was taken by them in *Turbay*, only his valiant Master was slaine; the ship with about seventy *English* men, they carried betwixt *Dover* and *Callis*, to *Dunkerk*; but the *Lydia* safely recovered *Dartmouth*.

These noble adventurers for all those losses, patiently doe beare them; but they hope the King and state will understand it is worth keeping, though it afford nothing but Tobacco, and that now worth little or nothing, custome and fraught payed, yet it is worth keeping, and not supplanting; though great men feele not those losses, yet Gardiners, Carpenters, and Smiths doe pay for it.

From the relation of *Robert Chesteven*, and others.

Chapter xxiii.

The proceedings and present estate of New England; *since* 1624. *to this present* 1629.

WHen I went first to the North part of *Virginia*, where the Westerly Colony had beene planted, it had dissolved it selfe within a yeare, and there was not one *Christian* in all the land. I was set forth at the sole charge of foure Merchants of *London*; the Country being then reputed by your westerlings, a most rockie, barren, desolate desart; but the good returne I brought from thence, with the maps and relations I made of the Country, which I made so manifest, some of them did beleeve me, and they were well embraced, both by the Londoners, and Westerlings, for whom I had promised to undertake it, thinking to have joyned them all together, but that might well have beene a worke for *Hercules*. Betwixt them long there was much contention; the Londoners indeed went bravely forward; but in three or foure yeares, I and my friends consumed many hundred pounds amongst the *Plimothians*, who only fed me but with delayes, promises, and excuses, but no performance of any thing to any purpose. In the interim, many particular ships went thither, and finding my relations true, and that I had not taken that I brought home from the *French* men, as had beene reported; yet further for my paines to discredit me, and my calling it *New England*, they obscured it, and shadowed it, with the title of *Cannada*, till at my humble suit, it pleased our most Royall King *Charles*, whom God long keepe, blesse, and preserve, then Prince of *Wales*, to confirme it with my map and booke, by the the title of *New England*; the gaine thence returning did make the same thereof so increase, that thirty, forty, or fifty sail, went yearly only to trade and fish; but nothing would be done for a plantation, till about some hundred of your Brownists of *England*, *Amsterdam*, and *Leyden*, went to *New Plimouth*, whose humorous ignorances, caused them for more than a yeare, to endure a wonderfull deale of misery, with an infinite patience; saying my books and maps were much better cheape to teach them, than my selfe; many other have used the like good husbandry, that have payed soundly in trying their selfe-willed conclusions; but those in time doing well, divers others have in small handfulls undertaken to goe there, to be severall Lords and Kings of themselves, but most vanished to nothing; notwithstanding the fishing ships, made such good returnes, at last it was ingrossed by twenty Pattenties,

Considerations about the losse of time.

The effect of niggardlinesse.

Pattenties, that divided my map into twenty parts, and cast lots for their shares; but mony not comming in as they expected, procured a Proclamation, none should goe thither without their licenses to fish; but for every thirty tunnes of shipping, to pay them five pounds; besides, upon greater penalties, neither to trade with the natives, cut downe wood for their stages, without giving satisfaction, though all the Country is nothing but wood, and none to make use of it, with many such other pretences, for to make this Country plant it selfe, by its owne wealth: hereupon most men grew so discontented, that few or none would goe; so that the Pattenties, who never one of them had beene there, seeing those projects would not prevaile, have since not hindred any to goe that would, that within these few last yeares, more have gone thither than ever.

A new plantation 1629.

Now this yeare 1629. a great company of people of good ranke, zeale, meanes, and quality, have made a great stocke, and with six good ships in the moneths of Aprill and May, they set saile from *Thames*, for the Bay of the *Massachusetts*, otherwise called *Charles* River; viz. the *George Bonaventure*, of twenty peece of Ordnance, the *Talbot* nineteene, the *Lions-whelpe* eight, the *May-flower* fourteene, the *Foure Sisters*, foureteen, the *Pilgrim* foure, with three hundred and fifty men, women, and children; also an hundred and fifteene head of Cattell, as horse, mares, and neat beast; one and forty goats, some Conies, with all provision for household, and apparell; fix peeces of great Ordnance for a Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Corselets, Drums, Colours, with all provisions necessary for a plantation, for the good of man; other particulars I understand of no more, than is writ in the generall historie of those Countries.

But you are to understand that the noble Lord chiefe Justice *Popham*, Judge *Doderege*; the Right Honourable Earles of *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, *Salesbury*, and the rest, as I take it, they did all thinke, as I and them went with me, did; That had those two Countries beene planted, as it was intended, that no other nation should come plant betwixt us. If ever the King of *Spaine* and we should fall foule, those Countries being so capable of all materialls for shipping, by this might have beene owners of a good Fleet of ships, and to have releeved a whole Navy from *England* upon occasion; yea, and to have furnished *England* with the most Easterly commodities; and now since, seeing how conveniently the *Summer Iles* fell to our shares, so neere the *West Indies*, wee might with much more facility than the *Dutchmen* have invaded the *West Indies*, that doth now put in practice, what so long hath beene advised on, by many an honest *English* States-man.

Notes of inconvenience.

Those Countries Captaine *Smith* oft times used to call his children that never had mother; & well he might, for few fathers ever payed dearer

dearer for so little content; and for those that would truly understand, how many strange accidents hath befallen them and him; how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere desperate, and ere long flourishing, cannot but conceive Gods infinite mercies and favours towards them. Had his designes beene to have perswaded men to a mine of gold, though few doth conceive either the charge or paines in refining it, nor the power nor care to defend it; or some new Invention to passe to the South Sea; or some strange plot to invade some strange Monastery: or some portable Countrie; or some chargeable Fleet to take some rich Carocks in the *East Indies*; or Letters of Mart to rob some poore Merchants; what multitudes of both people and mony, would contend to be first imployed: but in those noble endevours (now) how few of quality, unless it be to beg some Monopolie; and those seldome seeke the common good, but the commons goods; as you may reade at large in his generall history, page 217, 218, 219. his generall observations and reasons for this plantation; for yet those Countries are not so forward but they may become as miserable as ever, if better courses be not taken than is; as this *Smith* will plainly demonstrate to his Majesty; or any other noble person of ability, liable generously to undertake it; how within a short time to make *Virginia* able to resist any enemy, that as yet lieth open to all; and yeeld the King more custome within these few yeares, in certaine staple commodities, than ever it did in Tobacco; which now not being worth bringing home, the custome will bee as uncertaine to the King, as dangerous to the plantations.

Chapter xxiv.

A briefe discourse of divers voyages made unto the goodly Countrey of Guiana; *and the great River of the* Amazons; *relating also the present Plantation there.*

IT is not unknowen how that most industrious & honourable Knight Sir *Walter Rauleigh*, in the yeare of our Lord 1595. taking the Ile of *Trinidado*, fell with the Coast of *Guiana* Northward of the Line ten degrees, and coasted the Coast; and searched up the River *Oranoca*: where understanding that twentie severall voyages had been made by the *Spanyards*, in discovering this Coast and River; to finde a passage to the great Citie of *Mano*, called by them the *Eldorado*, or the Golden Citie: he did his utmost to have found some bet-

ter

ter satisfaction than relations: But meanes failing him, hee left his trustie servant *Francis Sparrow* to seeke it, who wandring up and downe those Countreyes, some foureteene or fifteene yeares, unexpectedly returned: I have heard him say, he was led blinded into this Citie by *Indians*; but little discourse of any purpose touching the largenesse of the report of it; his body seeming as a man of an uncurable consumption, shortly dyed here after in *England*. There are above thirtie faire rivers that fall into the Sea, betweene the River of *Amazons* and *Oranoca*, which are some nine degrees asunder.

Sparrow left to seeke the great Citie of *Mano*.

In the yeare 1605. Captaine *Ley*, brother to that noble Knight Sir *Oliver Ley*, with divers others, planted himselfe in the River *Weapoco*, wherein I should have beene a partie; but hee dyed, and there lyes buried, and the supply miscarrying, the rest escaped as they could.

Captaine *Charle Ley*.

Sir *Thomas Roe*, well knowen to be a most noble Gentleman, before he went Lord Ambassadour to the Great *Mogoll*, or the Great *Turke*, spent a yeare or two upon this Coast, and about the River of the *Amazones*, wherein he most imployed Captaine *Matthew Morton*, an expert Sea-man in the discoverie of this famous River, a Gentleman that was the first shot and mortally supposed wounded to death, with me in *Virginia*, yet since hath beene twice with command in the *East Indies*; Also Captaine *William White*, and divers others worthy and industrious Gentlemen, both before and since, hath spent much time and charge to discover it more perfitly, but nothing more effected for a Plantation, till it was undertaken by Captaine *Robert Harcote*, 1609.

Sir *Thomas Roe*.

Captain *Morton*.

Captaine *White*.

This worthy Gentleman, after he had by Commission made a discoverie to his minde, left his brother *Michael Harcote*, with some fiftie or sixtie men in the River *Weapoco*, and so presently returned to *England*, where he obtained by the favour of Prince *Henrie*, a large Patent for all that Coast called *Guiana*, together with the famous River of *Amazones*, to him and his heires: but so many troubles here surprized him, though he did his best to supply them, he was not able, only some few hee sent over as passengers with certaine *Dutchmen*, but to small purpose. Thus this businesse lay dead for divers yeeres, till Sir *Walter Rauleigh*, accompanied with many valiant Souldiers and brave Gentlemen, went his last voyage to *Guiana*, amongst the which was Captaine *Roger North*, brother to the Right Honourable the Lord *Dudley North*, who upon this voyage having stayed and seene divers Rivers upon this Coast, tooke such a liking to those Countreyes, having had before this voyage more perfect and particular information of the excellencie of the great River of the *Amazones*, above any of the rest, by certaine *Englishmen* returned so rich from thence in good commodities, they would not goe with Sir *Walter Rauleigh* in search of gold; that after his returne for *England*, he endevoured

Captain *Harcote*.

endevoured by his best abilities to interest his Countrey and state in those faire Regions, which by the way of Letters Patents unto divers Noblemen and Gentlemen of qualitie, erected into a company and perpetuitie for trade and plantation, not knowing of the Interest of Captaine *Harcote*.

Whereupon accompanied with 120. Gentlemen and others, with a ship, a pinnace and two shallops, to remaine in the Countrey, hee set saile from *Plimouth* the last of April 1620, and within seven weekes after hee arrived well in the *Amazones*, only with the losse of one old man: some hundred leagues they ran up the River to settle his men, where the sight of the Countrey and people so contented them, that never men thought themselves more happie: Some *English* and *Irish* that had lived there some eight yeeres, only supplyed by the *Dutch*, hee reduced to his company and to leave the *Dutch*: having made a good voyage, to the value of more than the charge, he returned to *England* with divers good commodities besides Tobacco: So that it may well be conceived, that if this action had not beene thus crossed, the Generalitie of *England* had by this time beene wonne and encouraged therein. But the time was not yet come, that God would have this great businesse effected, by reason of the great power the Lord *Gundamore*, Ambassadour for the King of *Spaine*, had in *England*, to crosse and ruin those proceedings, and so unfortunate Captaine *North* was in this businesse, hee was twice committed prisoner to the Tower, and the goods detained, till they were spoiled, who beyond all others was by much the greatest Adventurer and Loser. Captaine *Roger North.*

Notwithstanding all this, those that he had left in the *Amazons* would not abandon the Country. Captaine *Thomas Painton*, a worthy Gentleman, his Lieutenant dead. Captaine *Charles Parker*, brother to the Right Honourable the Lord *Morley*, lived there six yeares after; Mr. *John Christmas*, five yeares, so well, they would not returne, although they might, with divers ether Gentle-men of qualitie and others: all thus destitute of any supplyes from *England*. But all authoritie being dissolved, want of government did more wrong their proceedings, than all other crosses whatsoever. Some releefe they had sometime from the *Dutch*, who knowing their estates, gave what they pleased and tooke what they list. Two brothers Gentlemen, *Thomas* and *William Hixon*, who stayed three yeares there, are now gone to stay in the *Amazons*, in the ships lately sent thither. *Nota bene.*

The businesse thus remaining in this sort, three private men left of that Company, named Mr. *Thomas Warriner*, *John Rhodes*, and *Robert Bims*, having lived there about two yeares, came for *England*, and to be free from the disorders that did grow in the *Amazons* for want of Government amongst their Countrey-men, and to be quiet amongst themselves, made meanes to set themselves out for St. *Christophers*; their

their whole number being but fifteene persons, that payed for their passage in a ship going for *Virginia*, where they remained a yeare before they were supplyed, and then that was but foure or five men. Thus this Ile, by this small beginning, having no interruption by their owne Countrey, hath now got the start of the Continent and maine Land of *Guiana*, which hath beene layd apart and let alone untill that Captain *North*, ever watching his best opportunitie and advantage of time in the state, hath now againe pursued and set on foot his former designe. Captaine *Harcote* being now willing to surrender his grant, and to joyne with Captaine *North*, in passing a new Patent, and to erect a company for trade and plantation in the *Amazons*, and all the Coast and Countrey of *Guiana* for ever. Whereupon, they have sent this present yeare in Januarie, and since 1628, foure ships with neere two hundred persons; the first ship with 112. men, not one miscarried; the rest went since, not yet heard of, and are preparing another with their best expedition: and since Januarie is gone from *Holland*, 100. *English* and *Irish*, conducted by the old Planters.

This great River lieth under the Line, the two chiefe head lands North and South, are about three degrees asunder, the mouth of it is so full of many great and small Iles, it is an easie matter for an unexperienced Pilot to lose his way. It is held one of the greatest rivers in *America*, and as most men thinke, in the world: and commeth downe with such a fresh, it maketh the Sea fresh more than thirtie miles from the shore. Captaine *North* having seated his men about an hundred leagues in the Maine, sent Captaine *William White*, with thirtie Gentlemen and others, in a pinnace of thirtie tun, to discover further, which they did some two hundred leagues, where they found the River to divide it selfe in two parts, till then all full of Ilands, and a Countrey most healthfull, pleasant and fruitfull; for they found food enough, and all returned safe & in good health: In this discoverie they saw many Townes well inhabited, some with three hundred people, some with five, six, or seven hundred; and of some they understood to be of so many thousands, most differing verie much, especially in their languages: whereof they suppose by those *Indians*, they understand are many hundreds more, unfrequented till then by any *Christian*, most of them starke naked; both men, women and children, but they saw not any such giant-like women as the Rivers name importeth. But for those where Captaine *North* hath seated his company, it is not knowen where *Indians* were ever so kinde to any Nation, not sparing any paines, danger or labour, to feed and maintaine them. The *English* following their buildings, fortifications and sugar-workes; for which they have sent most expert men, and with them all things necessarie for that purpose; to effect which, they

want

want not the helpe of those kinde *Indians* to produce; and many other good commodities, which (God willing) will ere long make plaine and apparent to this Kingdome, and all the Adventurers and Well-willers to this Plantation, to bee well worthy the cherishing and following with all alacritie.

Chapter xxv.

The beginning and proceedings of the new plantation of S^t^ Christopher *by Captaine* Warner.

MAster *Ralfe Merifield* and others, having furnished this worthy industrious Gentleman, hee arrived at S^t^ *Chriſtophers*, as is said, with fifteene men, the 28. of Januarie, 1623. viz. *William Teſted*, *John Rhodes*, *Robert Bims*, M^r^ *Benifield*, Sergeant *Jones*, M^r^ *Ware*, *William Royle*, *Rowland Grascocke*, M^r^ *Bond*, M^r^ *Langley*, M^r^ *Weaver*, *Edward Warner* their Captaines sonne, and now Deputy-Governour till his fathers returne, Sergeant *Aplon*, one Sailor and a Cooke: At their arrivall they found three *French-men*, who sought to oppose Captaine *Warner*, and to set the *Indians* upon us; but at last we all became friends, and lived with the *Indians* a moneth, then we built a Fort, and a house, and planting fruits, by September we made a crop of Tobacco; but upon the nineteenth of September came a *Hericano* and blew it away, all this while wee lived upon Cassada bread, Potatoes, Plantines, Pines, Turtels, Guanes, and fish plentie; for drinke wee had *Nicnobbie*. 1623 A *Hericano*.

The 18. of March 1624. arrived Captaine *Jefferson* with three men passengers in the *Hope-well* of *London*, with some trade for the *Indians*, and then we had another crop of Tobacco, in the meane time the *French* had planted themselves in the other end of the Ile; with this crop Captaine *Warner* returned for *England* in September, 1625. 1624.

In his absence came in a French pinnace, under the command of *Monsieur de Nombe*, that told us, the *Indians* had slaine some *French-men* in other of the *Charybes* Iles, and that there were six Peryagoes, which are huge great trees formed as your Canowes, but so laid out on the sides with boords, they will seeme like a little Gally: six of those, with about foure or five hundred strange *Indians* came unto us, we bade them be gone, but they would not; whereupon we and the *French* joyned together, and upon the fifth of November set upon them, and put them to flight: upon New-yeares Even they came againe, found three *English* going about the Ile, whom they slue. 1625. Their fight with the *Indians*.

Untill

1626. Untill the fourth of August, we stood upon our guard, living upon the spoile and did nothing. But now Captaine *Warner* arriving againe with neere an hundred people, then we fell to worke and planting as

A Hericano. before; but upon the fourth of September, came such a Hericano, as blew downe all our houses, Tobacco, and two Drums into the aire we know not whither, drove two ships on shore that were both split; all our provision thus lost, we were very miserable, living onely on what we could get in the wilde woods, we made a small party of

Eight French slaine. *French* and *English* to goe aboord for provision, but in their returning home, eight *French* men were slaine in the harbour.

1627. Thus wee continued till neere June that the *Tortels* came in, 1627. but the *French* being like to starve, sought to surprize us, and all the Cassado, Potatos, and Tobacco we had planted, but we did prevent them. The 26. of October, came in Captaine *William Smith*, in the *Hope-well*, with some Ordnance, shot and powder, from the Earle of *Carlile*; with Captaine *Pelham* and thirty men, about that time also came the *Plow*; also a small ship of *Bristow*, with Captaine *Warners* wife, and six or seven women more.

Three *Indians* slaine. Upon the 25. of November, the *Indians* set upon the *French*, for some injury about their women, and slew six and twentie *French* men, five *English*, and three *Indians*. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes; their bowes are never bent, but the string lies flat to the bow; their arrowes a small reed, foure or five foot long, headed some with the poysoned sting of the taile of a Stingray, some with iron, some with wood, but all so poysoned, that if they draw but bloud, the hurt is incurable.

The arrivall of many English ships. The next day came in Captaine *Charles Saltonstall*, a young Gentleman, son of Sir *Samuel Saltonstall*, who brought with him good store of all commodities to releeve the plantation; but by reason some *Hollanders*, and others, had bin there lately before him, who carried away with them all the Tobacco, he was forced to put away all his commodities upon trust till the next crop; in the meane time hee resolved there to stay, and imploy himselfe & his company in planting Tobacco, hoping thereby to make a voyage, but before he could be ready to returne for *England*, a *Hericano* hapning, his ship was split, to his great losse, being sole Merchant and owner himselfe, notwithstanding forced to pay to the Governour, the fift part of his Tobacco, and for fraught to *England*, three pence a pound, and nine pence a pound custome, which amounts together to more than threescore pound in the hundred pound, to the great discouragement of him and many others, that intended well to those plantations. Nevertheless he is gone againe this present year 1629. with a ship of about three hundred tunnes, and very neere two hundred people, with Sir *William Tuffton* Governour for the *Barbados*, and divers gentlemen, and all manner of commodities fit for a plantation.

Captaine

Captaine *Prinne*, Captaine *Stone*, and divers others, came in about Christmas; so that this last yeare there hath beene about thirtie saile of *English*, *French* and *Dutch* ships, and all the *Indians* forced out of the Ile, for they had done much mischiefe amongst the *French*, in cutting their throats, burning their houses, and spoyling their Tobacco; amongst the rest *Tegramund*, a little childe the Kings sonne, his parents being slaine, or fled, was by great chance saved, and carefully brought to *England* by Master *Merifield*, who brought him from thence, and bringeth him up as his owne children.

The description of the Ile.

It lyeth seventeene degrees Northward of the line, about an hundred and twenty leagues from the *Cape de tres Puntas*, the neerest maine land in *America*, it is about eight leagues in length, and foure in bredth; an Iland amongst 100. Iles in the *West Indies*, called the *Caribes*, where ordinarily all them that frequent the *West Indies*, refresh themselves; those most of them are rocky, little, and mountainous, yet frequented with the *Canibals*; many of them inhabited, as Saint *Domingo*, Saint *Mattalin*, Saint *Lucia*, Saint *Vincent*, *Granada*, and *Margarita*, to the Southward; Northward, none but Saint *Christophers*, and it but lately, yet they will be ranging *Marigalanta*, *Guardalupo*, *Deceado*, *Monserat*, *Antigua*, *Mevis*, *Bernardo*, Saint *Martin*, and Saint *Bartholomew*, but the worst of the foure Iles possessed by the *Spanyard*, as *Portorico* or *Jamica*, is better than them all; as for *Hispaniola*, and *Cuba*, they are worthy the title of two rich Kingdomes, the rest not respected by the *Spanyards*, for want of harbors, and their better choice of good land, and profit in the maine. But Captaine *Warner*, having beene very familiar with Captaine *Painton*, in the *Amazon*, hearing his information of this S^t *Christophers*; and having made a yeares tryall, as it is said, returned for *England*, joyning with Master *Merifield*, and his friends, got Letters Pattents, from King *James*, to plant and possesse it. Since then, the Right Honourable the Earle of *Carlile*, hath got Letters Pattents also, not only of that, but all the *Caribes* Iles about it, who is now chiefe Lord of them, and the *English* his tenants, that doe possesse them; over whom he appointeth such Governours and Officers, as their affaires require; and although there be a great custome imposed upon them, considering their other charges, both to feed and maintaine themselves; yet there is there, and now a going, neere upon the number of three thousand people; where by reason of the rockinesse and thicknesse of the woods in the Ile, it is difficult to passe, and such a snuffe of the Sea goeth on the shore, ten may better defend, than fifty assault. In this Ile are many springs, but yet water is scarce againe in many places; the valleyes and sides of the hills very fertile, but the mountaines harsh, and of a sulphurous composition; all overgrowne with *Palmetas*, *Cotten* trees; *Lignum vitæ*, and divers other sorts, but none like any in *Christendome*, except those

The springs, temper, and seasons.

carried

carried thither; the aire very pleasant and healthfull, but exceeding hot, yet so tempered with coole breaths, it seemes very temperate to them, that are a little used to it; the trees being alwaies greene, the daies and nights alwayes very neere equall in length, alwayes Summer; only they have in their seasons great gusts and raines, and somtimes a Hericano, which is an overgrowne, and a most violent storme.

A strange hatching of egges for beasts.

In some of those Iles, are cattell, goats, and hogges, but here none but what they must carry; *Gwanes* they have, which is a little harmelesse beast, like a *Crockadell*, or *Aligator*, very fat and good meat, she layes egges in the sand, as doth the land Crabs, which live here in abundance, like Conies in Boroughs, unlesse about May, when they come downe to the Sea side, to lay in the sand, as the other; and all their egges are hatched by the heat of the Sunne.

Fish.

From May to September they have good store of *Tortasses*, that come out of the Sea to lay their egges in the sand, and are hatched as the other; they will lay halfe a pecke at a time, and neere a bushell ere they have done; and are round like Tenis-balls: this fish is like veale in taste, the fat of a brownish colour, very good and wholsome. We seeke them in the nights, where we finde them on shore, we turne them upon their backs, till the next day we fetch them home, for they can never returne themselves, being so hard a cart may goe over them; and so bigge, one will suffice forty or fifty men to dinner. Divers sorts of other fish they have in abundance, and *Prawnes* most great and excellent, but none will keepe sweet scarce twelve houres.

Birds.

The best and greatest is a *Passer Flaminga*, which walking at her length is as tall as a man; *Pigeons*, and *Turtle Doves* in abundance; some *Parrots*, wilde *Hawkes*, but divers other sorts of good Sea fowle, whose names we know not.

Roots.

Cassado is a root planted in the ground, of a wonderfull increase, and will make very good white bread, but the Juyce ranke poyson yet boyled, better than wine; *Potatos*, *Cabbages* and *Radish* plenty.

Fruits.

Mayes, like the *Virginia* wheat; we have Pine-apples, neere so bigge as an Hartichocke, but the most daintiest taste of any fruit; *Plantnais*, an excellent, and a most increasing fruit; Apples, Prickell Peares, and Pease, but differing all from ours. There is Pepper that groweth in a little red huske, as bigge as a Walnut, about foure inches in length, but the long cods are small, and much stronger, and better for use, than that from the *East Indies*. There is two sorts of Cotten, the silke Cotten as in the *East Indies*, groweth upon a small stalke, as good for beds as downe; the other upon a shrub, and beareth a cod bigger than a Walnut, full of Cotten wooll: Anotto also groweth upon a shrub, with a cod like the other, and nine or ten on a bunch, full of Anotto, very good for Dyers, though wilde; Sugar Canes, not tame, 4. or 5. foot high; also Masticke, and Locus trees;

great

great and hard timber, Gourds, Muske Melons, Water Melons, Lettice, Parsly; all places naturally beare purslaine of it selfe; Sopeberries like a Musket bullet, that washeth as white as Sope; in the middle of the root is a thing like a sedge, a very good fruit, we call Pengromes; a Pappaw is as great as an apple, coloured like an Orange, and good to eat; a small hard nut, like a hazell nut, growes close to the ground, and like this growes on the Palmetas, which we call a Mucca nut; Mustard-seed will grow to a great tree, but beares no seed, yet the leaves will make good mustard; the Mancinell tree the fruit is poyson; good figs in abundance; but the Palmeta serveth to build Forts and houses, the leaves to cover them, and many other uses; the juyce we draw from them, till we sucke them to death, (is held restorative) and the top for meat doth serve us as Cabbage; but oft we want poudered Beefe, and Bacon, and many other needfull necessaries.

by *Thomas Simons*, *Rowland Grascocke*,
Nicholas Burgh, and others.

Chapter xxvi.

The first planting of the Barbados.

THe *Barbados* lies South-west and by South, an hundred leagues from Saint *Christophers*, threescore leagues West and South from *Trinidado*, and some fourescore leagues from *Cape de Salinos*, the next part of the maine. The first planters brought thither by Captaine *Henry Powel*, were forty *English*, with seven or eight *Negros*; then he went to *Disacuba* in the maine, where he got thirty *Indians*, men, women, and children, of the *Arawacos*, enemies both to the *Caribes*, and the *Spaniards*. The Ile is most like a triangle, each side forty or fifty miles square, some exceeding great rocks, but the most part exceeding good ground; abounding with an infinite number of Swine, some Turtles, and many sorts of excellent fish; many great ponds wherein is Ducke and Mallard; excellent clay for pots, wood and stone for building, and a spring neere the middest of the Ile of Bitume, which is a liquid mixture like Tarre, that by the great raines falls from the tops of the mountaines, it floats upon the water in such abundance, that drying up, it remaines like great rocks of pitch, and as good as pitch for any use. A description of the Ile.

The Mancinell apple, is of a most pleasant sweet smell, of the bignesse of a Crab, but ranke poyson, yet the Swine and Birds have wit to shun it; great store of exceeding great Locus trees, two or three Fruits and trees.

fadome

fadome about, of a great height, that beareth a cod full of meale, will make bread in time of necessity. A tree like a Pine, beareth a fruit so great as a Muske Melon, which hath alwayes ripe fruit, flowers, or greene fruit, which will refresh two or three men, and very comfortable; Plumb trees many, the fruit great and yellow, which but strained into water in foure and twenty houres will be very good drinke; wilde figge trees there are many; all those fruits doe fat the hogges, yet at some-times of the yeare they are so leane, as carrion; Gwane trees beare a fruit so bigge as a Peare, good and wholsome; Palmetaes of three several sorts; Papawes; Prickle Peares good to eat or make drinke; Cedar trees very tall and great; Fusticke trees are very great and the wood yellow, good for dying; sope berries, the kernell so bigge as a sloe, and good to eat; Pumpeons in abundance; Goads so great as will make good great bottles, and cut in two peeces good dishes and platters; many small brooks of very good water; Ginni wheat, Cassado, Pines and Plantaines; all things we there plant doe grow exceedingly, so well as Tobacco; the corne, pease, and beanes, cut but away the stalke, young sprigs will grow, and so beare fruit for many yeares together, without any more planting; the Ile is overgrowne with wod or great reeds, those wods which are soft are exceeding light and full of pitch, and those that are hard, are so hard and great, they are as hard to cut as stone.

Their numbers.

Master *John Powell* came thither the fourth of August 1627. with forty five men, where we stayed three weeks, and then returning, left behind us about an hundred people, and his sonne *John Powell* for his Deputy, as Governour; but there have beene so many factions amongst them, I cannot from so many variable relations give you any certainty for their orderly Government: for all those plenties, much misery they have endured, in regard of their weaknesse at their landing, and long stay without supplies; therefore those that goe thither, it were good they carry good provision with them; but the Ile is most healthfull, and all things planted doe increase abundantly: and by this time there is, and now a going, about the number of fifteene or sixteene hundred people.

Sir *William Curtine*, and Captaine *John Powell*, were the first and chiefe adventurers to the planting this fortunate Ile; which had beene oft frequented by men of Warre to refresh themselves, and set up their shallops; being so farre remote from the rest of the Iles, they never were troubled with any of the *Indies*. Harbours they have none, but exceeding good Rodes, which with a small charge might bee very well fortified; it doth ebbe and flow foure or five foot, and they cannot perceive there hath ever beene any Hericano in that Ile.

From the relations of Captaine *John White*,
and Captaine *Wolverstone*.

Chapter xxvii.

Chapter xxvii.

The first plantation of the Ile of Mevis.

BEcause I have ranged and lived amongst those Ilands, what my authours cannot tell me, I thinke it no great errour in helping them to tell it my selfe. In this little Ile of *Mevis*, more than twenty yeares agoe, I have remained a good time together, to wod, and water and refresh my men; it is all woddy, but by the Sea side Southward there are sands like downes, where a thousand men may quarter themselves conveniently; but in most places the wod groweth close to the water side, at a high water marke, and in some places so thicke of a soft spungy wood like a wilde figge tree, you cannot get through it, but by making your way with hatchets, or fauchions: whether it was the dew of those trees, or of some others, I am not certaine, but many of our men became so tormented with a burning swelling all over their bodies, they seemed like scalded men, and neere mad with paine; here we found a great Poole, wherein bathing themselves, they found much ease; and finding it fed with a pleasant small streame that came out of the woods, we found the head halfe a mile within the land, distilling from a many of rocks, by which they were well cured in two or three dayes. Such factions here we had, as commonly attend such voyages, that a paire of gallowes was made, but Captaine *Smith*, for whom they were intended, could not be perswaded to use them; but not any one of the inventers, but their lives by justice fell into his power, to determine of at his pleasure, whom with much mercy he favoured, that most basely and unjustly would have betrayed him.

The description of the Ile.

The Bath.

The last yeare, 1628. Master *Littleton*, with some others got a Pattent of the Earle of *Carlile*, to plant the Ile called the *Barbados*, thirty leagues Northward of Saint *Christophers*; which by report of their informers, and undertakers, for the excellencie and pleasantnesse thereof, they called *Dulcina*, but when they came there, they found it such a barren rocke, they left it; although they were told as much before, they would not beleeve it, perswading themselves, those contradicters would get it for themselves, was thus by their cunning opinion, the deceiver of themselves; for seeing it lie conveniently for their purpose in a map, they had not patience to know the goodnesse or badnesse, the inconvenience nor probabilities of the quality, nor quantity; which errour doth predominate in most of our home-bred adventurers, that will have all things as they conceit and would have it; and the more they are contradicted, the more hot they are; but you may see by many examples

A great misprision.

examples in the generall history, how difficult a matter it is, to gather the truth from amongst so many forren and severall relations, except you have exceeding good experience both of the Countries, people, and their conditions; and those ignorant undertakings, have beene the greatest hinderance of all those plantations.

Their numbers.

At last because they would be absolute, they came to *Mevis*, a little Ile by Saint *Chriſtophers*; where they seated themselves, well furnished with all necessaries, being about the number of an hundred, and since increased to an hundred and fifty persons, whereof many were old planters of Saint *Chriſtophers*, especially Master *Anthony Hinton*, and Master *Edward Tompson*. But because all those Iles for most part are so capable to produce, and in nature like each other, let this discourse serve for the description of them all. Thus much concerning those plantations, which now after all this time, losse, and charge, should they be abandoned, suppressed, and dissolved, were most lamentable; and surely seeing they all strive so much about this Tobacco, and that the fraught thereof, and other charges are so great, and so open to any enemie, by that commodity they cannot long subsist.

And it is a wonder to me to see such miracles of mischiefes in men; how greedily they pursue to dispossesse the planters of the Name of Christ Jesus, yet say they are Christians, when so much of the world is unpossessed; yea, and better land than they so much strive for, murthering so many Christians, burning and spoiling so many cities, villages, and Countries, and subverting so many kingdomes, when so much lieth vast, or only possessed by a few poore Savages, that more serve the Devill for feare, than God for love; whose ignorance we pretend to reforme, but covetousnesse, humours, ambition, faction, and pride, hath so many instruments, we performe very little to any purpose; nor is there either honour or profit to be got by any that are so vile, to undertake the subversion, or hinderance of any honest intended christian plantation.

Certaine exploits of Captaine *Smith*.

Now to conclude the travels and adventures of Captaine *Smith*; how first he planted *Virginia*, and was set ashore with about an hundred men in the wilde woods; how he was taken prisoner by the Savages, by the King of *Pamaunke* tied to a tree to be shot to death, led up and downe their Country to be shewed for a wonder; fatted as he thought, for a sacrifice for their Idoll, before whom they conjured him three dayes, with strange dances and invocations, then brought him before their Emperor *Powhatan*, that commanded him to be slaine; how his daughter *Pocahontas* saved his life, returned him to *James* towne, releeved him and his famished company, which was but eight and thirty to possesse those large dominions; how he discovered all the severall nations, upon the rivers falling into the Bay of *Chisapeacke*; stung neere to death with a most poysoned taile of a fish called Stingray:

Stingray: how *Powhatan* out of his Country tooke the kings of *Pamaunke* and *Paspahegh* prisoners, forced thirty nine of those kings to pay him contribution, subjected all the Savages: how *Smith* was blowne up with gunpowder, and returned for *England* to be cured.

Also how hee brought our new *England* to the subjection of the kingdome of great *Britaine*; his fights with the Pirats, left alone amongst a many *French* men of Warre, and his ship ran from him; his Sea-fights for the *French* against the *Spaniards*; their bad usage of him; how in *France* in a little boat he escaped them; was adrift all such a stormy night at Sea by himselfe, when thirteene *French* Ships were split, or driven on shore by the Ile of *Ree*, the generall and most of his men drowned, when God to whom be all honour and praise, brought him safe on shore to all their admirations that escaped; you may read at large in his generall history of *Virginia*, the *Summer Iles*, and *New England*.

Chapter xxviii.

The bad life, qualities and conditions of Pyrats; and how they taught the Turks *and* Moores *to become men of warre.*

AS in all lands where there are many people, there are some theeves, so in all Seas much frequented, there are some pyrats; the most ancient within the memory of threescore yeares was one *Callis*, who most refreshed himselfe upon the Coast of *Wales*; *Clinton* and *Pursser* his companions, who grew famous, till Queene *Elizabeth* of blessed memory, hanged them at *Wapping*; *Flemming* was as expert and as much sought for as they, yet such a friend to his Country, that discovering the *Spanish Armada*, he voluntarily came to *Plimouth*, yeelded himselfe freely to my Lord Admirall, and gave him notice of the *Spaniards* comming; which good warning came so happily and unexpectedly, that he had his pardon, & a good reward; some few Pirats there then remained; notwithstanding it is incredible how many great and rich prizes the little barques of the West Country daily brought home, in regard of their small charge; for there are so many difficulties in a great Navy, by wind and weather, victuall, sicknesse, losing and finding one another, they seldome defray halfe the charge: but for the grace, state, and defence of the Coast and narrow Seas, a great Navy is most necessary, but not to attempt any farre voyage, except there be such a competent stocke, they want not wherewith to furnish and supply all things with expedition; but to the purpose.

The difficulties of a great Navie.

After

What occasioneth Pirats.

After the death of our most gracious Queene *Elizabeth*, of blessed memory, our Royall King *James*, who from his infancy had reigned in peace with all Nations; had no imployment for those men of warre, so that those that were rich rested with that they had; those that were poore and had nothing but from hand to mouth, turned Pirats; some, because they became sleighted of those for whom they had got much wealth; some, for that they could not get their due; some, that had lived bravely, would not abase themselves to poverty; some vainly, only to get a name; others for revenge, covetousnesse, or as ill; and as they found themselves more and more oppressed, their passions increasing with discontent, made them turne Pirats.

Their chiefe randevouz.

Now because they grew hatefull to all *Christian* Princes, they retired to *Barbary*, where although there be not many good Harbours, but *Tunis*, *Argier*, *Sally*, *Mamora*, and *Tituane*, there are many convenient Rodes, or the open Sea, which is their chiefe Lordship: For their best harbours *Massalqueber*, the townes of *Oran*, *Mellila*, *Tanger*, and *Cuta*, within the Streights, are possessed by the *Spaniards*; without the Streights they have also *Arzella*, and *Mazagan*; *Mamora* likewise they have lately taken, and fortified. *Ward* a poore *English* sailer, and *Dansker* a *Dutchman*, made first here their Marts, when the *Moores* knew scarce how to saile a ship; *Bishop* was Ancient, and did little hurt; but *Easton* got so much, as made himselfe a Marquesse in *Savoy*; and *Ward* lived like a Bashaw in *Barbary*; those were the first that taught the *Moores* to be men of warre. *Gennings*, *Harris*, *Tompson*, and divers others, were taken in *Ireland*, a Coast they much frequented, and died at *Wapping*. *Hewes*, *Bough*, *Smith*, *Walsingam*, *Ellis*, *Collins*, *Sawkwell*, *Wollistone*, *Barrow*, *Wilson*, *Sayres*, and divers others, all these were Captaines amongst the Pirats, whom King *James* mercifully pardoned; and was it not strange, a few of these should command the Seas. Notwithstanding the *Malteses*, the Pope, *Florentines*, *Genoeses*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *English*, Gallies, and Men of Warre, they would rob before their faces, and even at their owne Ports, yet seldome more than three, foure, five or six in a Fleet: many times they had very good ships, and well manned, but commonly in such factions amongst themselves, and so riotous, quarrellous, treacherous, blasphemous, and villanous, it is more than a wonder they could so long continue, to doe so much mischiefe; and all they got, they basely consumed it amongst *Jewes*, *Turks*, *Moores*, and whores.

Their conditions.

The best was, they would seldome goe to Sea, so long as they could possibly live on shore, being compiled of *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Moores*, (but very few *Spanyards*, or *Italians*) commonly running one from another, till they became so disjoynted, disordered, debawched, and miserable, that the *Turks* and *Moores* beganne to command them as slaves, and force them to instruct them in their best skill, which many

an

an accursed runnagado, or *Christian* turned *Turke* did, till they have made those Sally men, or *Moores* of *Barbary* so powerfull as they be, to the terror of all the Straights, and many times they take purchase in the maine Ocean, yea sometimes even in the narrow Seas in *England*, and those are the most cruell villaines in *Turkie*, or *Barbarie*; whose natives are very noble, and of good natures, in comparison of them. Runnagados.

To conclude, the misery of a Pirate (although many are as sufficient Seamen as any) yet in regard of his superfluity, you shall finde it such, that any wise man would rather live amongst wilde beasts, than them; therefore let all unadvised persons take heed, how they entertaine that quality; and I could wish Merchants, Gentlemen, and all setters forth of ships, not to bee sparing of a competent pay, nor true payment; for neither Souldiers nor Sea-men can live without meanes, but necessity will force them to steale; and when they are once entered into that trade, they are hardly reclaimed. Those titles of Sea-men and Souldiers, have beene most worthily honoured and esteemed, but now regarded for most part, but as the scumme of the world; regaine therefore your wonted reputations, and endevour rather to adventure to those faire plantations of our *English* Nation; which however in the beginning were scorned and contemned, yet now you see how many rich and gallant people come from thence, who went thither as poore as any Souldier or Sailer, and gets more in one yeare, than you by Piracie in seven. I intreat you therefore to consider, how many thousands yearely goe thither; also how many Ships and Sailers are imployed to transport them, and what custome they yearely pay to our most Royall King *Charles*, whose prosperity and his Kingdomes good, I humbly beseech the immortall God ever to preserve and increase. Advertisements for wilde heads.

FINIS

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

by Lawrence C. Wroth

Bibliographical Note

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

THe bibliographical features of the works of Captain John Smith have been described in detail by Wilberforce Eames in Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, vol. XX, pages 218-265, New York, 1927. The present note on the *True Travels* is based upon Mr. Eames's notes to Sabin, Nos. 82851, 82852, 82855-82857. The collation of a perfect copy is as follows:

Sm. folio. A^6, B-G^4, H^6; 36 leaves; [i-xii], 1-60; page [i]: title; page [ii]: Smith's coat of arms signed "T Cecill Scul"; pages [iii-iv]: dedication; pages [v-vi]: "The Contents of the severall Chapters."; pages [vii-xii]: complimentary verses; pages 1-60: "The trve Travels, Adventvres, and Observations of Captaine Iohn Smith, . . ." The folded plate, in nine compartments, entitled, "Part of the Trauels of Cap! Iohn Smith, amongst Tvrkes, Tartars, and others, extracted out of the History by Iohn Payn", is signed: "MRten Dr. sculptor" [i.e. Martin Droeshout], and bears the imprint, "London Printed by James Reeue."

In some copies of the book, Smith's coat of arms is found on an inserted leaf; ordinarily it occupies the verso of the title-leaf. Copies with the inserted leaf constitute a variant issue of the book which may have been earlier than the commoner issue with the arms on the verso of the title-leaf. Page 34 is sometimes found wrongly numbered 36, and page 15 is sometimes numbered 13. As corrections of these errors seem to have been made while the book was in press, their presence or absence does not constitute a distinction of issue. The plate is found in two states; in the first state, the left hand compartment in the middle row bears a legend of which the first line reads: "His three single Combats Chap. 7."; in the second state, signs of erasure of this line are apparent beneath the new legend: "His three

single Combats before Regall in Transilvania." The head-piece of the contents leaf, A3, is made up in some copies of typographical ornaments and resembles that on the title of the *Sea Grammar* of 1627, while in other copies appears, with the same setting of type, an engraved head-piece of squirrels, cupids, etc.

II. COPIES

IN the note to Sabin, No. 82851, Mr. Eames describes the differences noted above, calls attention to misprinted words and specifies a copy in which all these errors exist and another in which most of them were corrected. The copy from which the present reprint is made presents these features:

Position of arms	verso of title leaf
State of plate	second
Head piece on A3	engraved
Pages wrongly numbered . . .	15 is numbered 13
Misprinted words	pages 54 and 60
Marginal note on page 44 "Good Hospitality"	present

This copy is bound with the John Carter Brown Library copy of the *Generall Historie*, dated 1627, in a contemporary calf binding, with the royal arms, presumably of Charles I, on both covers.

III. COMPOSITION OF THE TEXT & ITS PUBLICATION

THE narrative seems to have been composed, in less detailed form, several years before its appearance in the *True Travels*, probably in 1623 or in 1624. In 1625, this earlier form of it was published in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, II, liber VIII, chapter XI, pages 1361-1370. Purchas separated from the other portion of the narrative that important section relating to Smith's adventures in the Transylvanian

wars, Chapters IV to XI in the *True Travels*, and asserted that he had set forth this part of the story as it was "written in a Booke intituled, The Warres of Transiluania, Wallachi[a], and Moldavia, written by Francisco Ferneza a Learned Italian, Secretarie to Sigismundus Bathor the Prince." The Purchas narrative as a whole, with its detailed personal information, must have been supplied by Smith himself, and it is likely that this so-called "Farnese" relation was derived from the same source, though on this account its authorship need not necessarily be imputed to the hero of the stirring events there described. In his dedication to the *True Travels*, Smith says that Sir Robert Cotton, the famous antiquarian, had urged him to publish the whole story of his adventurous life, and that it was to gratify the curiosity of his friends and to correct current misconceptions of his adventures that he now related the full story. The narrative comprised in Chapters I-XX of the *True Travels* is simply the Purchas account set out in somewhat greater detail and expanded to cover a longer period of action. To this personal relation, said by some critics to be a romance, Smith added in Chapters XXI-XXVII the sober and incontestable record entitled, "The continuation of the generall Historie of Virginia," carrying on the story of the previously published *Generall Historie* from 1624 to 1629. In the Richmond, Virginia, 1819, edition of Smith's works (see below, section 5), the editor has placed the *Generall Historie* between Chapters XX and XXI of the *True Travels*, thus giving form to Smith's conception of the two works as constituting a single narrative of the great events that he had witnessed, taken part in, or directed. The book was entered in the Stationers' Register by Thomas Slaughter (called Slater in the imprint and elsewhere) on August 29, 1629. The printer "J.H.", whose initials appear also among those in the imprint of the *Generall Historie*, was probably the John Haviland who printed Smith's *A Sea Grammar* in 1627.

IV. CREDIBILITY OF THE NARRATIVE

THe question of Smith's credibility in the relation of his own adventures is most often brought up in connection with the Pocahontas incident and with that portion of the *True Travels* that records his conspicuous part in the Transylvanian wars. Not satisfied with Thomas Fuller's witty evasion of the issue in the dictum that the stories were "cheaper credited than confuted," many modern writers have been drawn into tedious and inconclusive investigations of Smith's reliability as a narrator. In the Bradley reissue of Arber's collection of Smith's works (see below, section 5), Thomas Seccombe, I.xxvii*-xxx*, gave a list of the more important discussions, but failed to mention the most telling of all attacks upon the *True Travels* —the series of articles by Lewis L. Kropf, the Hungarian scholar, in *Notes and Queries*, 7th series, 1890, ix. 1, 41, 102, 161, 223, 281. Kropf's attack is by way of a reply to Arber's defense, found in the *English Scholar's Library* edition of the works (see below, section 5), pages xxi-xxix, in which the English editor based his belief in the credibility of the *True Travels* upon five points, namely: (1) the dedication of the book to three English noblemen, one of whom, according to the narrative, had been twice encountered by Smith in the course of the adventures described (that is, in Orleans in 1596 and in Siena in 1601), and the reference to Sir Robert Cotton as the instigator of the publication. Arber's suggestion is that Smith would have hesitated to foist a hoax upon these great personages. (2) The fact that names of persons and events in the narrative were drawn upon by Smith as early as 1608 for the honor of employment as geographical designations; for example in 1608, he named a point in the Chesapeake, Point Ployer; in 1614, he named the present Cape Ann, Massachusetts, Cape Tragbigzanda, and at the same time he called three islands off this cape "The Three Turks Heads." (3) Purchas's acceptance of the narrative as genuine and his reference to its source as an incidental part of the larger work of an Italian writer (see above, section 3). (4) The complimentary verses printed in the *Description of New England* in 1616 in which two of his comrades in the Transylvanian wars refer to the achievements of Smith as described by himself in the *True Travels* in 1630. (5) The confirmation by the

Garter-king-of-arms, Sir William Segar, in 1625, of the grant of arms made Smith by Prince Sigismund Báthori. As the result of his study of the narrative, and in spite of the evidence adduced by Arber in favor of it, Kropf concluded in the articles cited above that Smith had played no part in the Transylvanian wars, that he was so ignorant of Balkan geography as to lead one to believe he had never been in the places he described, that the Farnese relation used by Purchas had been prepared by Smith himself, that neither Farnese nor his book could be identified, and finally that the grant of arms from Sigismund Báthori was a clumsy forgery. Kropf brought to this investigation topographical knowledge, historical learning, and an effective if somewhat obvious wit. The argument is not unassailable in many particulars, but its general tendency may be refuted only by one as thoroughly at home as its author in the geography and the history of the Balkans.

The question will probably always remain at issue between the romantic and the skeptic, but in the meantime some further reflections upon the matter may be set down. (a) The events of the narrative are not inherently improbable. Smith was the sort of person who encounters strange adventures. (b) The portion of the narrative under suspicion, that relating to his part in the Balkan wars, had been in print in the popular Purchas for five years before it was embodied in the *True Travels*. If its substantial truth had been challenged by his numerous enemies in the intervening years, Smith would have hesitated before bringing it out under his own name and offering it as "true" to three distinguished noblemen, and he would not have been likely, under these circumstances, to refer to Sir Robert Cotton as having suggested the publication. The matter of the narrative obviously had been accepted as true by the several persons who wrote the complimentary verses that precede it, and the dedication seems to have been favorably received by Smith's noble patrons (see the dedication to his *Advertisement for the unexperienced Planters of New England*, 1631). Three of these verse writers were Richard Brathwaite, Edward Jorden and Richard James, and taking into account identity of names and dates, one may assume these individuals to have been Richard Brathwaite the poet; Edward Jorden the skeptical-minded physician whose famous treatise on the "Suffocation of the Mother" accounted for the phenomenon of demoniacal possession

and is recognized as one of the earliest English writings to submit the witchcraft delusion to scientific scrutiny; and last, Richard James, the librarian of Sir Robert Cotton. (c) Sir William Segar, though a learned herald, seems at times to have been over credulous. Imprisoned in 1616 as the result of a plot by which arms were granted to the common hangman of London, he was exonerated of complicity and restored to his office. It is likely that such an experience would have made him more careful in the ordinary course of his duties, and that the recollection of it would have caused him to investigate minutely the authenticity of a grant of arms made by a foreign prince twenty years before it was presented for confirmation.

In the face of these evidences of contemporary acceptance of the narrative by learned men as substantially true, must be placed Fuller's account of Smith in the *Worthies* of 1660 (Cheshire, pages 179-180) as indicating the early existence of disbelief in the story. It may be the fact too, though no one seems to have mentioned it, that David Lloyd's *Legend of Captain Jones*, entered at Stationers' Hall (May 26, 1631) a few weeks before Smith's death in July, 1631, and published in 1631 about a year after the appearance of the *True Travels*, was intended as a satire upon Smith's account of his adventures. If it can be shown that the hero of Lloyd's poem was a person having actual existence, this supposition may not be allowed, but though several persons have sought to establish the identity of Captain Jones as a seaman of Elizabeth's time, yet their efforts seem to have been without success (see *Notes & Queries*, 1855, XII, 30, 74; 9th series, 1901, VIII, 244, 311; 12th series, 1921, IX, 90, 171). The Lloyd book provides a parallel to the *True Travels* in several particulars. "Captain Jones" may be regarded as an easily perceived disguise for the "Captain Smith" whose adventures had been published in the preceding year. Beginning probably with the edition of 1636, the book was embellished with a plate by William Marshall that portrays the same sort of extravagant feat found in the Droeshout plate in the *True Travels*. The book contains a series of verses laudatory of Jones such as is found in Smith's book. There is a vague general resemblance between the two books in the character of the adventures narrated and in the locality of the scenes visited. These indications seem to suggest the *Legend of Captain Jones* as a burlesque of the *True Travels* by Captain Smith, written while John Smith was still alive and pub-

lished at or about the time of his death. One may hope that he died before he heard London laughing at him as the result of its satire.

It only remains to say that if the *True Travels* was a romance and its author a liar, it was a romance based upon a laboriously built up legend of his life, and the author a liar of extraordinary consistency and resoluteness. He began drawing upon the material of these adventures with the naming of Point Ployer in 1608; in 1616 he published verses about them, signed by names that may have been fictitious, but have not been proven so; someone provided Purchas with a manuscript relating a part of Smith's adventures in 1623 or 1624, and in 1625 Smith applied for confirmation of a coat of arms granted him as the result of services he had been claiming as his, certainly since he named "The Three Turks Heads" group of islands in 1616. This is a long period over which to maintain a detailed false testimony of events, and the vanity beneath such an action seems difficult to understand in the case of a man whose attested activities were not only highly adventurous but of great public usefulness. If the *True Travels* is a romance it must be regarded either as a great silliness or as the work of an excellent artist who early conceived the figure he wished to present to the world and by fabrication of incident molded the story of his career to fit it. If in this fashion and over a period of twenty years he presented himself as a figure of romance it becomes necessary to add the description "artist" to the epithets soldier, sailor, explorer, cartographer, and colonizer that belong to John Smith as the result of indubitable achievement.

V. OTHER EDITIONS

The True Travels, etc. [edited by the Rev. John Holt Rice, D. D.] 2 volumes, Richmond, Va., 1819. Sabin 82852

Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels. London, 1704, II, 371-412, and in the editions of 1732, 1744-46 and 1752. Sabin 82852n

The English Scholar's Library. Captain John Smith, of Willoughby, etc., edited by Edward Arber. Birmingham, 1884. The True Travels, pages 805-916 Sabin 82855

The Generall Historie of Virginia, etc. Together with The True Travels, etc. 2 volumes. Glasgow, 1907. Sabin 82830

Captain John Smith of Willoughby, etc. Edited by Edward Arber. 2 volumes, Westminster, 1895. Sabin 82856
(The sheets of the edition of 1884 reissued with a new title.)

Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, etc. Edited by Edward Arber . . . A New Edition with a Biographical and Critical Introduction, by A. G. Bradley. 2 volumes, Edinburgh, 1910. Sabin 82857
(A reprint from the stereotype plates of the edition of 1884 and 1895, with Bradley's preface substituted for Arber's and with the bibliography revised and a supplementary note by Thomas Seccombe.)

Mr. Eames records also (Sabin 82852n) a reprint by Routledge in the New Universal Library in 1907, edited by A. J. Phillip; and another in the Cambridge University Press series, English Literature for Schools, in 1908, edited by E. A. Benians.

LAWRENCE C. WROTH

The John Carter Brown Library
Providence, Rhode Island
March, 1929

Three hundred and seventy-seven copies of
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This is copy № 88

Savoy Editions

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